James Alexander Ginsborg

THE REAL FACT OF TRANSYLVANIA'S ODYSSEY

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INTRODUCTION

The great historian Constantin C. Giurescu said that the Romanian people is the oldest and more numerous people in the south-eastern part of Europe.

The history of this people began with the existence of the first inhabitants, that is thousands of years ago, on the territory of present-day Romania being found the oldest traces of human existence from Europe.

The first people identified in the south-eastern part of Europe are the Thracians. Some experts consider the Thracians as the creators of the most beautiful neolithic ceramics in Europe, belonging to the Cucuteni culture. Others think that the Thracians existed only in the Age of Bronze. The Dacians or Getae represented the northern branch of the Thracian people, living in the area bordered by the quadrilateral of the Bohemian tableland from present-day Czecho-Slovakia, the Danube in the west, the Carpathians, the Bug in the east and the Haemus Mountains (the Balkans) in the south.

Being situated in an area of contact, the Dacian-Thracic space has a stormy history. In general, after the great Indo-European migration which ends before the end of the 2nd millenium, the movements of peoples will be orientated towards the DacianThracic area. The peoples coming from the North-Pontic steppes (the Cimmerians and the Scythians), those coming from the western part of the continent (the Celts), will strive for this space. The milder climate, the riches of the soil and subsoil will represent an irresistible attraction for the inhabitants of poorer territories in the northern and north-eastern parts of Europe.

The foundation of some rich «fortified towns» on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, whose successors will be Rome and Constantinople, will represented along a whole millenium the points all the migrations will be directed to, beginning with the migrations of the Germanic and Sarmatic peoples and continuing with those of Turkish-Mongolian and Slav peoples. The way of the migratory barbarians towards the two Romes will usually cross the Dacian territory.

But before the great migration of the first millenium takes place, the destiny of Dacia and its inhabitants will be influenced by Rome - a great military force reaching the climax of civilization. A resolute conflict between the Roman Empire and the great Dacian state of Burebista was about to break out at the middle of the 1st century B.C., but the assassination of the two great personalities - Caesar and Burebista, in the same year (44), put it off for one century and a half.

It was during the reign of the Emperor Trajan, Optimus Princeps, when the two bloody wars took place. After these events Rome spread its dominion on the territory north of the Danube over the greatest part of Dacia. Becoming part of the Roman Empire, Dacia, as a Roman province, will be greatly influenced on all levels; thus at the moment when the Roman army and administration withdrew nearby the Danube, the destiny of the people living north of the Danube was set up: it was the most eastern «fort» of the Romans. Learning the Roman language this people will keep alive the memory of the great fortress until present times in spite of all the misfortunes overwhelming it along a whole millenium. Going towards the old or the new Rome, Germanic, Turkish-Mongolian and Slav peoples crossed the terrritory of the old Dacia.

Some of them remained there for a period of time, influencing the language - as it happened with the Slavs. But finally the Daco-Roman was triumphant and lasting - his language and outlook being essential for the new-comers.

The eastern Roman world, from Istria and Dalmatia up to the Dniester, underwent deep changes in the migrations' millenlum. It gradually limited its area, it was divided and assimilated in Haemus Peninsula, but remained strong in the territory north of the Danube.

When the first feudal states began to occur in the centre and eastern part of Europe, the first Romanian political state formations appeared - the dukedoms - on the territory of the ancient Dacia.

Their evolutive process, which could naturally lead to the creation of a Romanian feudal state, including all the Romanians - from the Tisa to the Dniester and from the Northern Carpathians to the Danube, was hampered by the last wave of the great migration which brought the Magyars, the Pecenegs and Cumans and finally the Tartars to the territory inhabited by the Romanians.

At the beginning of the tenth century, the millenary conflict between the group of migratory peoples settled in the Panonic plain and the Romanians broke out. After conquering the plain inhabited by the Romanians, at the moment when the Hungarians arrived, the battles to conquer Transylvania and the extra-Carpathian area also inhabited by the Romanians began.

In spite of the military success, of the apostolic aim assumed by Stephan's Kingdom, of all measures taken by the leaders of the Magyar state against the Romanian element - massive colonizations, denationalization through religion, denationalization by force in modern periods, - in the end, the victory was for those who proved to be stronger from the numerical and ethnical points of view.

In the following pages we shall present only some of the moments and methods used in the conflict of the two peoples facing each other along the history.

1. *The Hungarians Occupy Transylvania and the Banat and They Start a Vast Policy of Denationalization of the Romanian Population*

Beginning with the 9th and 10th centuries, when a complex political situation existed in Europe, the Romanians had already state formations with various names (cnezats, voivodeships, countries) and well-established home and foreign functions and political guidelines. Prosperous from the economic point of view these small Romanian states reached unification stage, within a centralized feudal state, when the Hungarians, settled in the Pannonic Plain for a short time, started their attacks against the Transylvanian Romanians in the tenth century.

For about four centuries, the Romanians fiercely defended their homeland and belongings against the attacks of armed troops led by Hungarian kings, the Hungarian domination upon Transylvania being definitely set up only towards the end of the 13th century.

The Romanians' courage and bravery were recognized even by the Hungarians themselves. Thus, in the chronicler from the court of the Hungarian king Bela III, the author describes an interesting scene of these fierce battles. The Romanian voivode Menumorut received a message of peace from Arpag - the Hungarian King, after long battles. He answered with dignity: «We shall never concede our territory as long as we are alive». Even under these circumstances, the Romanians' opposition being so strong, Transylvania had for a long time the statute of an autonomous province with its own leading bodies (for a long time Transylvania's leaders were called *voivodes* and the province itself was called *voivodeship* - these terms being traditional Romanian names).

The Romanians' cruel fate did not permit them to create a single unitary state from the very beginning. They were divided into three sister states: the voivodeships of Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia. So divided, the Romanians lost the unity of the traditional geographical area which had assured their prosperity.

Reunification within the natural borders of the ancient homeland was a normal problem for the Romanians, and their fight for unity and independence was the only possibility, the unique solution for achieving this vital necessity. But this reunification was a problem of historical right, for re-establishing the geo-political equilibrium necessary for the development of the Romanian people.

Conquering Transylvania, the Hungarians coming to Europe only towards the end of the 9th century, found an old Romanian population, descending directly from the Geto-Dacians. Being less numerous, the Hungarians brought on this territory Szeckler, Teutonic colonists, and they were settled in various parts of Transylvania, especially the outlying ones. Their policy was full of hatred towards the Romanians, who were deprived of their belongings and properties. The subsoil riches were under the authority of the Hungarian state. The Romanians were continuously forced to give up their orthodox religious creed in order to adopt catholicism.

They were deprived of national rights and liberties being very severely treated, in comparison with the other nationalities of Transylvania.

In spite of their desperate efforts, the Hungarians did not achieve their aim. This truth was recognized even by the representatives of the Hungarian intellectuals of the respective period.

The historian Szilágyi asserted that «Transylvania and Hungary remained two separate countries, never becoming a single one». (I.Lupaş, «Historical Relationships in the Voivodeship of Transylvania in the 13th-14th Centuries», Bucharest 1938, p. 54/55).

This truth is fully demonstrated during the 1848/1849 Revolution and after it, when the Hungarians proclaimed the union of Transylvania with Hungary.

The nationalistic-chauvinistic position of the leaders of the Hungarian revolution including Lajos Kossuth and the non-recognition of the Romanians and Slavs' social and national rights increased the Romanians' discontent.

The Romanian historian, N. Bălcescu, one of the leaders of the Romanian revolution who militated for the common fight of the revolutionary forces of the two peoples against the military intervention of the absolutist powers - the Hapsburgic, Tsarist and Ottoman empires - realized that an agreement with the Hungarians was impossible.

Integrant part of the revolution of 1848, the revolution of the Romanians in Transylvania considered of primary importance the necessity to recognize their equality in rights with the other, privileged nationalities and the union with «the Country», that is with Romania.

In the program of the Transylvanian revolutionaries approved by 40,000 Romanian peasants and intellectuals taking part in the great meeting at Blaj, on 3rd/5th May 1848, was included the petition regarding the equality in rights of the Romanians with all the other nationalities of Transylvania and the setting up of a national meeting made up on the principle of observing ethnic proportionality.

«According to these principles I shall respect all the Transylvanian nationalities, asking equal respect from them. I shall not try to oppress anybody, but I shall not bear others' oppression.» These words were written in the Romanians' oath for the meeting at Blaj. It was in this oath a natural tendency for the Romanians' emancipation.

Due to Nicolae Bălcescu's firm efforts, in the summer of 1849 an agreement between L. Kossuth and Avram Iancu was signed; it recognized Romanians' national rights. But this political act was too late, because the two revolutions failed, the military intervention of Russia and Hapsburgic Empire being decisive. After the defeat of the revolutions, the leaders of the Hungarian emigrants headed by Kossuth continued to adopt chauvinistic positions. They were hostile to the progressive idea of N. Bălcescu and Mazzini (the Italian revolutionary) to create a democratic confederation of the Danubian states.

«They want - the Transylvanian revolutionary August Treboniu Laurian wrote to N. Bălcescu - to assimilate all nations (from Hungary and Transylvania) and blend with the Magyar one. Even in the general Diet of the confederated countries (if it will be organized) they will know no other language but Hungarian».

In spite of this position, later on, the representatives of the Hungarian emigration - Kossuth, Klapka, Teleky and others - who militated for Hungary's independence, supported - at the beginning of the year 1859, the fight of the Romanian people for unifying Moldavia and Wallachia in a Romanian national state, because they saw in this act an impulse given to the fight of the Hungarians for their national liberation from the Hapsburgic domination.

Contrary to the historical truth, some recent papers of Hungarian historiography put forward the idea regarding «the counter-revolutionary» character of the fight of the Romanians in Transylvania, on the basis to «collaboration» with the Hapsburgs. This thesis uses the nationalistic ideas spread by the Hungarian leaders even since 1848. Adopting the idea of recognizing feudal Hungary, which had incorporated by force Transylvania and other foreign territories, some Hungarian historians use even today such ideas put forward by Lajos Kossuth in his time: «The territorial integrity and the political unity of the country (feudal Hungary) represent the boundary within which the national problem should be solved... Dividing the territory of the country according to the languages spoken there, breaking up its political unity according to the respective langugages - all these facts represent a crime against our homeland.»

Thus we can understand the refusal of the main leaders of the Hungarian revolution to recognize the rights of the Romanian people as well as the decision to maintain the feudal order in Transylvania, to send troops for slaughtering the Romanian population. All this reached the climax with the decision of the Diet of Cluj - made up the representatives of the privileged nationalities - to annex Transylvania to Hungary in spite of the Romanians' vehement protests. At that time, as well as later on, there were representatives of some progressive trends among the Hungarians, who were against such a chauvinistic policy.

«In Transylvania - it was written in the Hungarian newspaper *Marcius Tizenötödike* (15th March) printed in Pesta - two powers should decide upon the fate of the union (the union of Transylvania with Hungary): the Diet and the Romanian people. The Diet represents only several hundreds of people, the Romanians represent the whole Transylvania.

The union of Transylvania with Hungary without the Romanians' approval is a matter we cannot deal with.»

Putting their veto on the decision of the Magyar aristocracy from the Diet of Cluj to annex Transylvania to Hungary without the approval of the Romanians who represented the majority of this province, the peasants coming to the meeting at Blaj, declared even on 18th/30th April 1848: «We do not sell our motherland, we do not want to know anything about the union the landowners (i.e. the Magyar aristocrats) inted to do without the Romanians' knowledge; above all, we want to be free in our country; being serfs we cannot deal with foreign countries; when we are free, a free nation, we shall see whom we shall agree with.»

The above-mentioned historians have also overlooked the efforts of some leaders of the Romanian revolution to unify the Romanians with the Magyars in their fight against the absolutist empires threatening both peoples. Thus, the Romanian revolutionist Avram Iancu, speaking to the Magyars, stressed the fact that: «Nature made us inhabit a country to work there together, to cultivate the land and gather the crops. Be sure that arms cannot decide between you and us.»

In its turn, «the Satellite» wrote: «Partition walls should not isolate the Transylvanian Saxon, the Hungarian and the Romanian. These three peoples in a close fraternal alliance will successfully face any enemy and will develop together.»

The defeat of the revolution meant that absolutism was set up again for a long period, saving the Hapsburgs' power.

The concessions made during the revolution were revoked by the emperor Franz Josef; the repressive forces increased in number, military governors settled there to declare state of siege; they introduced censorship and the German language became compulsory in administration and justice. Amidst these events, which called off the Romanians' efforts for their recognition as a nation equal in rights with the privileged nationalities of Transylvania, the rumour about the unification of Moldavia with Wallachia in January 1859 brought good hopes to the Romanians of Transylvania. This unification took place in a period when the Austrians were defeated at Solferino - North Italy, a fact which brought about an attempt to reconcile the existent divergencies. The attempt was made at the level of imperial home policy.

In 1866 the Hapsburgs were defeated again. This time they failed in their fight with the Prussian army.

The Hapsburgs were obliged to give up their arrogance and they offered the Hungarian aristocracy the chance towards an agreement.

2. *The Austro-Hungarian Dual Pact (1867) and its Implications on the Romanians of Transylvania and the Banat*

The Hungarian aristocracy gave up the ideas of the 1848 revolution and was willing to collaborate with the Austrian bourgeoisie being interested in maintaining the empire's integrity as well as its own interests. Under these circumstances the emperor Franz Josef was crowned King of Hungary on June 8, 1867 and on June 27, 1867 the Austro-Hungarian dualist pact was concluded.

This pact, created against the fight for national liberation of the peoples in central Europe, put an end to Transylvania's autonomy successfully defended by the Romanians along the centuries. Transylvania was incorporated into Hungary, the latter's domination lasting until the end of 1918.

This pact was the outcome of Austria' compromise and concession policy, which considered that federalization was inevitably leading - sooner or later - to monarchy's disintegration, to the loss of the commodity market for Austrian goods. It also expressed the interests of the Magyar aristocracy for continuing the domination over the other peoples and set up «the Great Hungary» within the borders of Stephen's Kingdom.

The dualist pact put an end to Transylvania's autonomous development within the Hapsburg Empire, marking the beginning of a new period, characterized by the intensification of the national oppression of the Romanians as well as of the peoples of Slav origin.

The Romanians' social condition was continuously growing worse because of their direct dependence upon the Hungarians. It was the beginning of the epoch of severe denationalization. «The Magyar oligarchy - said Bertrand de Jouvenel - proud of winning its independence from Vienna imposed its rule on the oppressed Romanian and Slav populations.»

Strengthening their state idea by dualism, the Hungarians gave up their modest ideal of national liberty becoming aggressive supporters of an imperialist ideal (the myth of the crown of the so-called Saint Stephan) which, by their opinion, could be put into practice only denationalizing by force the other surrounding nationalities. Their interest was focused especially upon the physical extermination of the so numerous and strong Romanian population, the Daco-Romans' descendants.

Writers adopting nationalistic-chauvinistic positions, including Vajda and Bela Grünwald, considered as danger of death for Hungary the simple existence of nationalities; the historian Paul Hunfalvi comparing the Romanians of Transylvania to the Red Skins of North America asked their physical extermination.

In order to create a legal basis for this policy of denationalizing the Romanians, the Hungarian government, presided by Francisc Deak, brought up in Parliament the famous Draft of Nationalities. This happened in 1868.

The hypocrisy and false liberalism included in this law could not deceive the Romanian and Slav members of Parliament. On their behalf, a committee including Alexandru Mocioni, Alexandru Roman and Vichentie Babeş (representing the Romanian Members of Parliament) drew up a first draft regularizing the equality of political treatment as well as the right of each people to use its mother tongue. Because the deputies in the minotiry had to face the opposition of the Hungarians - who had the minority of mandates, they ostentatiously left the hall of the Hungarian Parliament. Under these circumstances the Law XLIV was voted. It was called «The Law for the Equal Treatment of Nationalities» and the Hungarian historiography considered it «the unsurpassed model of that time» (V, Homan - Szekfül, *Magyar törtënet,* VII, p. 380).

In its preamble, the Law declared that all the citizens of Hungary made up one single nation (from the political point of view) - a fact which put out of question the legal recognition of the exitence of the other nationalities in Hungary. At the same time, granting rights to the citizens of other origins was a problem which could be put into practice according to the interests of unity of the Hungarian state.

The real aim of this law of nationalities (1868) was «to include all the citizens of Hungary in the unitary and indivisible Magyar nation». Not even the German nationality was spared. (Dr. Cornel Grofşorean, «Reglementarea problemei minoritare» in «Revista Institutului social Banat-Crişana», 24, 1938, p. 45).

Some provisions of this Law regarding the right to use mother tongue in administration and justice were only an attempt to deceive the public opinion abroad.

These provisions were never put into practice and later on they were abrogated. The effects of this law were unfavourable for the non-Hungarian populations and propitious for the Hungarians.

Thus, the Hungarians represented less than 50 per cent, but 93.3 per cent of the officials in the state administration came from this reduced number of citizens.

The electoral system was organized in such a way to restrict the nationalities' participation in the political life. According to the electoral law XXXIII (1874) with its successive modifications (especially in 1899), the right to vote was granted by electoral qualification (census) which - for the Romanians - was arbitrarily fixed up. Thus, in the rural areas (villages) of Transylvania inhabited especially by the Romanians, the electoral qualification (census) was 3-6 times greater than in the towns where only «the privileged nations» lived and 8-9 times greater than in the villages of Hungary. As the Romanian population was made up of poor people, in its large majority, it could be excluded from voting and implicitly from the political life -according to the provisions of this law.

The Romanians had not equal rights when speaking about the electoral mandates too.

While four comitats and 15 towns (considered to be Magyar ones) sent 35 deputies - that meant one deputy for 460 Km^2 and 17,000 inhabitants - only 30 mandates were given to 11 non-Magyar comitats, that is one deputy for 1,000 Km^2 and 34,000 inhabitants.

The fact that the electors were obliged to vote in another locality than the one they lived in represented a restriction upon the right to vote.

A more striking aspect of this law was the public character of the vote (it was not secret), implying a verbal statement in front of the chairman of the group; this fact limited the Romanian electors' free utterance. This method brought about a certain pressure on the Romanian candidates, helping the Magyar ones. Besides there were the Hungarian authorities' illegal actions using terror and violence against the Romanian electors for assuring the victory of their candidates. By these restrictions, the Chamber of Deputies was made up - in its large majority - of Hungarians, and the Senate was exclusively for the Hungarian aristocrats and clergymen, «the historical class» called to govern the country.

In the Parliament at Budapesta there were 400 Hungarian deputies and only 5-8 Romanian ones. There were also 5-8 Slav deputies.

An efficient instrument for the denationalization of the other peoples, aiming at strengthening the Hungarians from the demographic point of view was represented by school, organized on the basis of the Law XVIII (1879) and the Law XXVII (1907 - known as Apponyi Law). The second law abolished primary and secondary education in Romanian and even kindergartens; there was no state school in Hungary teaching in Romanian.

According to the curriculum there were only two classes weekly for the study of the Romanian language and the study of religion out of thirty-six classes used especially for teaching and acquiring knowledge in Hungarian.

«Hungarian primary school - it was said in the bill of Apponyi's Law - has the task to train and educate the pupils in such a way that at the end of the six years' learning they could express themselves clearly and exactly in Hungarian; they should know to read, write and calculate correctly in this language.» (I. Mateiu, «A Champion of Magyarization: Albert de Berzeviczy», in «Revue de Transylvanie», vol. II, nr. 4/1934, p. 549).

Those Romanian teachers who succeeded in teaching in Hungarian state schools in spite of great impediments, had miserable wages as compared to their Hungarian colleagues; they were oppressed and sent to prison when they inspired the Romanian pupils with national feelings. Many Romanian teachers were sentenced to long years of prison or even dismissed because of their patriotic position.

School policy and the action of magyarizing the non-Magyar peoples caused the disapproval of the European public opinion, who criticized the attitude of the Hungarian authorities very severely.

The great Norwegian writer Bjőrnsterne Bjőrnson refused to participate - in September 1907 - in the Congress of Peace in Munich, writing in a letter, well-known in that period, that he could not stay next to the false supporter of peace - count Apponyi who during the debates pleaded for good understanding among peoples, while in Hungary he started a real attack against the children of the Germans, Romanians, Serbians, Slovacs and Ruthenians. But this attitude did not impressed the count Albert Apponyi, who in a letter written to the Norwegian writer said that he would take part in other meetings too, «holding his head up». This attitude was the symbol of the Hungarian nobility's arrogance and intolerance so harmful for the Romanian. But the Norwegian writer answered promptly:

«Who doubts this attitude? When did a tyrant present himself in another way? Depriving the children of their mother tongue means to take them hungry from their mother's lap - and that is the order of Apponyi's law. If children can't learn Hungarian because it is a difficult language - and Hungary has the greatest number of illiterate people in Europe - what does it matter?

Look, count Apponyi is there, among them «keeping his head up». I bring witnesses and evidence from the peoples oppressed by Hungary in honor of this genial propagator. It isn't something pressing because Apponyi is waiting «keeping his head up». (Apud: Vasile M. Teodorescu, «Transilvania sub Maghiari şi Români, Bucureşti, 1941, p. 63).

A similar protesting attitude had the great Russian writer Lev Tolstoi who refused to take part in this congress side by side with «a false apostle of peace who did not recognize even the status of being human beings to the non-Hungarians living in Hungary». (Ibidem).

A strong action of Magyarization was imposed upon the Romanian confessional school supported by the orthodox and unified Churches - all subjects including religion and morals being compulsorily taught in Hungarian. Under these unfavourable circumstances, secondary education in Romanian was extremely limited; there were only four high-schools in Transylvania and it was very difficult to found new ones due to the Hungarian authorities' strong opposition.

There were darker conditions for higher education where only

Hungarian was used. The Romanian young people were obliged to attend the Hungarian or German universities in Vienna.

Hungarian authorities were so intolerant that not even the children under school age (who were only three years old) were spared, pressure being indirectly brought upon their parents.

The above-mentioned measures proved not only a total lack of humanism, but also the Hungarian nobility's terrible fear in their confrontation with the Romanians.

«The nobility in Transylvania - the Hungarian historian Tagányi wrote with realism - continues to be terrified by their Wallachian serfs... They are afraid that if the Romanians learn and educate themselves having more cultivated leaders, they will not accept to be slaves any longer. That's why this nobility did not admit schools for the poor; the old economic system became a real anticultural factor; a whole people was doomed to a complete spiritual ignorance and darkness, to a cruel moral and material misery in order to save the interests of several hundred families of great landowners...» («Közgazdasági Lexicon» - Toíganyi as chief editor, vol. II, p. 223).

The Hungarian chauvinistic policy orientated towards the Magyarization of the other peoples did not spare the Romanian orthodox and the unite Churches in Transylvania, that along the centuries represented the Romanians' real strongholds against the invaders, for defending their ethnical entity. The orthodox and Greek-Catholic religions were looked upon as heresies and put under various pressures with a view to make the Romanians give up their traditional faith and adopt the Catholic one. Thus the Catholic religion could be used in the Romanians' Magyarization and denationalization.

In that epoch of Magyar domination - the Romanian publicist Ioan Tuţuianu wrote - «the name of *Wallachian* was from the religious point of view synonymous with *heretical* and from the point of view of the public right almost identical with that of *serf*».

«The words full of mockery and contempt as well as the violent terms included in the sets of laws can offer us only a faint image of the situation of our people and church in that period.» (Ioan N. Tuţuianu, «Means used by Hungary for Denationalizing the Romanians», the Publishing house of «Universul» newspaper, Bucharest, 1937, p. 28).

To cut the continuous relationships existing between the orthodox church of Transylvania and that of Wallachia, the Hungarian aristocracy put by force the Romanian church under the Calvinistic church's jurisdiction and the Romanian education was controlled by

the Catholic Episcopate of Alba Iulia.

Romanian priests were terrorized and sent to Hungarian prisons, a fact which brought about their emigration to Wallachia. In spite of this oppression, the Romanians did not give up their forefathers' religion, considering it a means of opposition against the Hungarian governments' policy of Magyarization.

On February 17, 1898 «The Law for the Magyarization of Villages and Other Places» was promulgated in order to do away with the Romanian names of villages, rivers, forests - evident traces of an old immemorial past, Romanian in its origin, handed down from generation to generation, from century to century. (Vasile M. Teodorescu, p. 72-82).

According to this law, the Hungarian Ministry of the Interior had the power to Magyarize the old Romanian names from Transylvania, obliging the native population to use these new terms in their relationships with the existent authorities.

The Romanians' protests as well as the Germans' ones, were not taken into consideration; the Magyar authorities continued their efforts in this respect with great tenacity. If they succeeded in changing the exterior aspect of Transylvania, the names of Latin origin remained alive in the mind of the Romanian population inhabiting this territory, who used them in everyday speech.

After the toponyms' Magyarization, the Hungarians passed to the Magyarization of people's names - a well-organized action led by the Hungarian central authorities. Thus, in 1881 «The Society for the Names' Magyarization» was founded. Its president Simon Telkes declared in 1898: «The names' Magyarization represents the inner concentration which will create a united Magyar society instead of the present-day mixed society».

The action for the names' Magyarization reached its climax during the manifestations of 1896 organized to celebrate the Hungarians' settlement in the Pannonic Plain. Hungary wanted to impress the western world by «its national unity», but the Hungarian authorities did not take into account the methods used to achieve it.

In 1896, the Hungarians exerted great pressure upon all the non-Magyar employees from ministries, state administration, great enterprises, railways, to make them change their family names. Many were threatened that they would be dismissed if they objected.

Finding no way out, being afraid of dismissal and other serious material and social consequences, some non-Magyar employees began to yield up, a fact which brought about gaps among the nationalities in Hungary. The Jews, in their large majority, accepted the Magyarization of their names and they learnt Hungarian more easily.

In comparison with other nationalities, the Romanians changed their names in a smaller number. This can be explained taking into account their strong national consciousness and the reduced number of employees working in administration and central institutes; a very small number of Romanians accepted to change their names. These were especially groups of Romanians living in the Tisa Plain.

Among the means and methods used by the Hungarians to denationalize non-Magyar populations and promote nationalistic-chauvinistic ideas during dualism's period, the activity of the Magyar cultural societies from Transylvania had an important part. Among these a special activity was performed by «The Association for the Magyar Culture of Transylvania» (E.M.K.E.) founded in 1885 in Cluj and «Helikon» society.

With their great income, the above-mentioned societies inspired the Hungarian population with nationalistic-chauvinistic feelings with a view to consolidate the cultural and economic - political situation of the Magyar element from Transylvania as a means of strengthening the pressure put on the Romanians.

Until 1914, the press was run under the Imperial Licence of May 27, 1852 modified by the orders of the Hungarian government of March 25, 1867, May 14, 1871 and April 22, 1872 which fixed up a severe censorship upon the Romanian publications.

According to the new law of 1914, the free expression of ideas in writing and the publication of periodicals were apparently recognized, but in reality even in the text of the law, the recognized liberties were limited, so that they were practically abolished.

In Transylvania, for a population of 3 million Romanian inhabitants, in 1914 only 44 publications were issued in Romanian and only two of them were daily papers.

In the same period, the Hungarians - 1,300000 inhabitants - had 154 periodicals and daily papers.

The Romanian book printed in Transylvania was extremely rare, and book import from Wallachia was entirely forbidden. The Magyar authorities' censorship was so severe that the mere assertion of the Romanians' existence as a nation or the revival of their historical past, of their great political and cultural personalities in written works or textbooks represented a pretext for forbidding their issue or import.

Severe measures were taken against the journalists who had the courage to express their national ideas or were the supporters of democracy, liberty and social equality. Thus non-Magyar intellectuals were deliberately discouraged in their activity to promote the ideas of liberty and national unity.

There was a great number of convicts for political and press offences. As an example, we consider the decade 1884-1894, when 107 Romanian patriots were sentenced to various periods of imprisonment (representing 63 years' imprisonment).

Looking upon the 1886-1900 period we can notice that the Magyar authorities sentenced 353 Romanian journalists, charged with «attempt on the security of the Magyar state», to over 131 years' imprisonment and fines of about 93,000 crowns.

The situation of the press grew worse and worse. Romanian printed works were forbidden after short periods of publication. No Romanian paper could be issued without a previous bail.

The courage to discuss a simple draft and adopt a critical attitude was severely punished.

Shortly after the promulgation of Apponyi Law, three Romanian editors were sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment and others to 10 months' imprisonment.

Any pleading in favour of the oppressed nationalities in Hungary was considered «incitement against the Magyar nation» and its author was sentenced to prison or punished by severe fines.

In this respect, the notes put down by the English historian Scotus Viator in 1907 express the plain truth: «Persecution became so severe that you can hardly find one single Romanian journalist writing for a political newspaper who had not been sentenced to prison for a political offence!»

In Hungary the right to meet and associate was a parody. The meetings had to be announced in advance and admitted only after a special authorization. A Hungarian police officer attended all the meetings and he had the right to break up the meeting any moment. This is the formal aspect of the problem which could give a false image of the Hungarian oligarchy's policy. In fact any meeting, whatever harmless could be, was usually forbidden without any serious reasons and explanations.

Terror was hand in glove with corruption and corruption with forgery and frauds. Arresting great numbers of Romanian and Slovacs peasants represented usual facts during on election's period. There were also cases when great numbers of non-Magyar electors were murdered. From this point of view, Scotus Viator considered Hungary «the paradise of electoral corruption».

The climax of the Magyarization policy was reached in the period when the baron Dézider Banffy governed the Country (1859/1899). The Hungarian aristocrat spoke plainly about his chauvinistic principles: «My chauvinistic policy is an irresistible aspiration to a well-determined aim, to achieve it at any rate. This aim is the creation of a unitary Hungarian state using one single language.» This was the plain expression of the intention to exterminate the Romanian population of Transylvania, as, through its very nature, the Hungarian unitary state excluded the co-existence of several nationalisties.

What can be more illustrative of the violence of Hungary's policy towards the surrounding nationalities than the result of parliamentary elections in Banffy's time? Because of the terror focussed upon non-Magyar population only one single representative was elected in the Hungarian legislative body, although the non-Magyar population formed 54 per cent of Hungary's population.

People hoped that Banffy's successors would be more understanding in their relationships with non-Magyar populations, but all these hopes were in vain; on the contrary! Banffy's successor Coloman Szell asserted in 1899: «The Hungarians will never admit to change their country into a Swiss pseudoconfederation, being firmly determined to fight against these tendencies.»

Apparently, Coloman Szell made the impression that he was more tolerant than Dézider Banffy; in 1901 the non-Magyar population sent five delegates in the Hungarian Parliament. It was of course «a success», but only a partial one, because this population represented more than 50 per cent of Hungary's entire population. Even under these circumstances, the supporters of forced Magyarization were unsatisfied by the results of their policy performed against the Romanians for more than four decades and they had new plans in this respect. Thus, in 1907, Antal Huszar published the work entitled «The Romanians in Hungary» meant to be used «confidentially only by certain members of the Hungarian government.»

In this work, there were suggested measures and various destructive methods for each means of Romanian opposition. For instance, it was suggested to destroy the autonomy of the Romanian Orthodox Church and abrogate its statute. Similar measures were suggested for the Greek-Catholic Church because it was an obstacle to the unity of the Magyar state; it was going to be incorporated into the Hungarian Catholic Church.

Huszar Antal confidentially recommended the Hungarian ministers some other measures against non-Magyars among which are the following ones: the Magyarization of all Romanian schools, more severe punishments for the Romanian journalists whose works could not be accepted by the government.

He suggested that the Romanian journalists sentenced for press offences should be sent to criminal prisons not to political ones; some other future measures could be a severe control of all the existent Romanian cultural associations, breaking up the cultural society «Astra», a more intensive colonization of Transylvania with Magyar elements and so on. During the same period, the Hungarian propaganda abroad made desperate efforts to give the international public opinion a false image about the life of nationalities in Hungary.

Considering that the inhuman methods of forced denationalization applied to non-Magyar populations, especially Transylvanian Romanians, were looked upon by Western democracies as impossible to be put into practice by any European government, the Hungarian propaganda abroad managed to persuade certain European circles that the protests of the Romanians and other non-Magyar populations were «absurd».

Dionisie de Pazmondy hypocritically wrote in the newspaper «L'Indépendente Belge» in Bruxelles: «In Hungary nobody intends to prevent the Romanian's intellectual and material development, to destroy their language, customs and other national attributes.»

Hungarian propaganda took advantage of the good faith of western intellectual and political circles, who were only partially informed about the state of affairs existing in central and eastern Europe. The same subtle propaganda persuaded the Emperor Franz Josef of the so-called Dacian-Romanian danger. The emperor became the supporter of the Hungarian interests.

The Romanians' life in Transylvania was desperate.

Wallachia surrounded by great absolutist empires that intended to incorporate it could not help the Romanians of Transylvania although their hopes were so great. Under the circumstances some leaders of the Transylvanian Romanians tried to join Hapsburg House. Doctor Aurel C. Popovici in his work «Die vereinigten Staaten von Gross-Oesterreich» issued in Leipzig in 1906, suggested to change the dualist Austro-Hungarian monarchy into a federal state.

In his opinion, «the United States of the Great Austria» were to include 15 national territories, having a federal parliament, the same common army and custom-house unions among its various territories.

The German language was suggested to be the official language.

Within this federal state, the Romanian national territory was to include all the Romanians of Transylvania, Hungary and Bucovina.

This work had a great echo among certain political circles of Vienna. Karl Renner, the president of the last Austrian parliament considered that «the book proves the nationalities of Hungary are not made up of some uneducated poor barbarians as the Magyars want to present them.»

Aurel C. Popovici's federalist outlook was shared by the archduke Franz Ferdinand, who considered it rather a means to strengthen the Hapsburgs'Crown than to consolidate the position of various nations. The emperor Franz Josef did not accept these ideas. There are clues that the archduke was murdered mainly because of his outlook, by some secret Hungarian circles.

For the Hungarians, the federal state of Great Austria would break up their efforts to create a country with 30 million Hungarians, marking the end of all privileges obtained by usurpation and maintained by violence and terror. That's why they were fiercely against Aurel C. Popovici's ideas fighting to compromise them. Such being the state of affairs, the federalist plan of the Transylvanian Aurel C. Popovici failed.

The Romanians' attempts for their national emancipation, even by these means caused the Hungarians' prompt reaction. The count Stephen Bethlen, one of the strongest defenders of the system of non-Magyar nations' forced assimilation, denounced the danger «of the Romanian ocean within the Tissa, the Danube and the Carpathians». For this reason, resuming the principle of the colonization law given by Daranyi, he suggested to break up the dense body of the Transylvanian Romanians by colonizing Hungarians in great numbers.

Speaking about this problem, Charles Hubson Clarck wrote in his work entitled «Greater Romania»: «The Hungarian government spent millions of crowns to colonize Transylvania with Hungarians, and its efforts increased when the war broke out.»

The count Bethlen's 1912 plan also included measures for destroying even the Romanian rural property and prevent the free economic development of millions of Romanians. With that end in view he asked to deprive the Romanians of their rural goods and property, to destroy the Romanian credit and sabotage the Romanian banks. This plan began to be put into practice before World War I. The count I. Mailath worked out a real program based upon the rural property transfer from the Romanians to the Hungarians and the Hungarian farmers' society E.M.G. asserted the idea that the Magyars should possess the whole land of Transylvania, «because those who possess the land, rules the country».

The process of changing Transylvania into a Hungarian province was organized in two stages: the Magyarization of its inhabitants and then the Magyarization of the land itself.

The fall of Austro-Hungarian monarchy in November 1918 brought about the failure of all these dreadful plans.

Hungary's political life in the second decade of our century was dominated by Prime Minister Stephen Tisza, a great enemy of non-Magyar nationalities and especially of the Romanians.

The Romanian electoral districts were reduced from 49 to 17 by a new electoral law drawn up on Stephen Tisza's initiative and voted by the Hungarian Parliament. Until the beginning of the World War I, the government led by Stephen Tisza issued not less than 33 decrees in order to accomplish the Magyarization policy.

Romanian press freedom was abolished and «Românul», the newspaper edited by Vasile Goldiş - leader of the Romanian National Party in Transylvania - was forbidden.

The Romanian public meetings were completely prohibited.

The Hungarian state assumed the control of the Romanian banks administration; church autonomy was broken, the religious national meetings and congresses were held in the presence of Hungarian government commissaries.

The Romanian population of Transylvania passed from the jurisdiction of its own judges to the exceptional jurisdiction of courts martial.

The Law XVIII of 1915 regarding the traitors to the country increased the terrifying atmosphere the Transylvanian Romanians had lived since the outbreak of the world war. One simple denunciation and all the goods of the Romanian considered a traitor were forfeited and he was sent to prison or camps.

The prisons of Braşov, Făgăraş, Cluj, Seghedin were full up with Romanians whose single guilt was that they had been born on the Romanian land of Transylvania.

Archpriests, priests, journalists, teachers, workers, old people, women and children were crammed into the camps of Sopron and Veperd in Austria.

With a view to suppress the movement for national liberation of the Transylvanian Romanians, the Hungarian government used a powerful and numerous repressive body made up of Hungarians or Germans.

Any national movement of the Romanians was severely repressed by gendarmes in villages and Hungarian police in towns. At the same time, they controlled the Transylvanian patriots' relationships with the Wallachian state.

The rural gendarmerie's bodies and those of secret service collaborating with German bodies performed an intense informative activity south and east of the Carpathians, to organize the military aggression upon Romania.

As a result of «magyarizing at any rate» all non-Magyar populations and peoples to create the Hungarian unitary state the number of the Hungarians increased. At the same time the number of non-Magyars greatly decreased, but only statistically not really.

In 1867, when the Austro-Hungarian dualism was proclaimed, Hungary had 13,579,000 inhabitants - 5,665,000 Magyars and 7,939,000 non-Magyars. Two years later the Magyars represented 44.4 per cent out of the whole population of Hungary and the non-Magyars 55.6 per cent. In 1880, there were 46.6 per cent Hungarians and 53.4 per cent non-Magyars. Ten years later the Magyars represented 48.5 our of the total population and the non-Magyars 51.5 per cent.

In 1910, Hungary had 20,866,000 inhabitants - 9 million Hungarians and 11 million non-Magyars. The non-Magyars' structure was the following: 3 million Romanians, 2 million Germans and 2 million Slovacs, 1,800,000 Croatians, 1,100,000 Serbians, 472,000 Ruthenians, several hundred thousands Jews, 470,000 other nationalities.

During three decades (1880-1910) the denationalization methods used by the Hungarians had some results; thus the Magyar element increased from 46.65 per cent to 54.50 per cent and the percentage of nationalities in Hungary decreased from 53.35 to 45.50 per cent (the Romanians from 17.50 to 16.10 per cent, the Germans from 13.62 to 10.4 per cent, the Serbians from 4.60 to 3.30 per cent).

All these figures are convincing and any commentary is useless.

As for Transylvania, in the second decade of our century, out of its 5,650,000 inhabitants, 58.9 were Romanians, 24.7 Magyars, 10.16 Germans, 2.71 Jews and 2.50 other nationalities. From the administrative point of view, Transylvania was divided into 23 districts. When Transylvania was united to Romania, the Romanians represented the absolute majority in 17 districts: Alba, Arad, Bihor, Braşov, Caraş, Cluj, Făgăraş, Hunedoara, Maramureş, Năsăud, Sălaj, Satu Mare, Severin, Sibiu, Someş, Târnava Mare. The Magyars and especially the Szeklers, a separate people, had the absolute majority only in three districts: Ciuc, Odorhei and Trei Scaune, and the Germans had the relative majority only in the district Timiş Torontal (37 per cent) in comparison with 36 per cent Romanians and 14.6 per cent Magyars.

Shortly before World War I, Hungary was a citadel of ardent reactionarism, a state based upon the forced domination of some peoples and nationalities deprived of any rights doomed to disappear.

3. *The Hungarians Secretely Act to Prevent the Gaining of National Independence by Romania*

The Romanian people's efforts to gain national independence fighting against the Turks in the 1877/1878 war were hostilely looked upon by the leading circles of Hungary and the representatives of nationalistic-chauvinistic ideology. The Romanian state's struggle for independence - (at that time it was made up of Wallachia and a half of Moldavia, because Bassarabia - the eastern part of Moldavia was still under the domination of the Russian knout), was considered by these circles as an impulse given to the national liberation struggle of the Transylvanian Romanians and an important step towards the creation of the unitary national state.

That is the reason the authorities, the Hungarian informative and police bodies, try to crush any action of the Transylvanian Romanians to solidarize with Romania or support its struggle against the Ottoman Empire. The Hungarians tried to prevent the Romanians from collecting money and donations and they were against the Transylvanian volunteers who wanted to cross the Carpathians to fight in the Romanian military units south of the Danube.

In spite of all these measures, many Transylvanian Romanians voluntarily joined the Romanian army fighting against the Ottoman troops. In order to watch the state of mind of the Romanian population of Transylvania who, during the Russian-Romanian-Turkish war of 1877/1878, was to organize an uprising against the Hungarians, and for organizing subversive actions against Romania, new Hungarian informative and police services were created in the main towns.

The Budapest Cabinet tried to support the Ottoman Porte in crushing the national liberation movement of the peoples in the Balkan Peninsula. Thus, in the spring of 1877, in Vienna, the Turkish emissary Midhad Pasha and Hungarian leader Klapka carried on secret negotiations with a view to organize some subversive actions against the Russian-Romanian armies.

The fact that important contingents of Hungarian volunteers took part, side by side with the Ottoman army, in the military actions against the Russians and the Bulgarian patriots proved again the Hungarians' strong opposition to the national liberation struggle of the peoples living in central and eastern Europe. These efforts were doubled by the intensification of the Magyar propaganda for arguing the necessity to maintain the Ottoman Empire's integrity and opposing the granting of self-determination right to the exploited peoples of the Balkan Peninsula.

When the Romanians and Russians' three attacks were beaten off by the Turkish troops at Plevna, in July-August 1877, the Hungarians organized manifestations in the Turks' favour, in the main town of Transylvania.

Some military measures were also taken. Troops of the Austro-Hungarian army were massed together along the border with Romania. It was intensified the informative action of the secret services and the Austro-Hungarian diplomats on the territory of the Romanian state, for Turkey's benefit.

The organs of the Ministry of the Interior, the prosecuting magistracy and the praetoriat of Romania arrested many Austro-Hungarian spies and agents collecting information about Russian-Romanian military training and preparations.

In the summer of 1877, while the Romanian troops were fighting south of the Danube against the Turks for the liberation of their own people and of other peoples from the Ottoman domination, the leading circles in Vienna and the Hungarian nationalistic-chauvinistic elements tried to attack the Romanian State's fighting forces; this fact made the Romanian diplomats be more more vigilent with all secret actions organized by its northern neighbour. Thus, the Hungarian minister A. Trefort, the landowner Gábor Ugron and the colonel Medhyánski Sándor began to organize a red-herring group in the south-eastern region of Transylvania. 1,200 former military men were recruited. This red-herring group was to go to Moldavia to blow up the Adjud Bridge and organize various sabotages from Adjud to Muntenia disorganizing the rear of the Russian-Romanian troops who were fighting in Bulgaria. (Adrian Hamzea, «O conspiraţie eşuată», in «Magazin istoric», III, nr. 12(33), dec. 1969).

But this subversive action of the Hungarian chauvinistic elements failed, because the Romanian patriots of Transylvania gave notice to the authorities in Romania about what was happening there.

In its turn, the Romanian government informed Gorceakov, Russia's Minister for Foreign Affairs, who lodged a protest with Vienna Cabinet.

With a view to continue all the relationships with Russia and not to lose the territories (promised for its neutral attitude), the Hapsburg government began to arrest and try the plot's organizers and participants, protecting its initiator - Minister Trefort - and some other plotters. («Istoria României», vol. IV, Ed. Academiei RPR, Bucureşti, 1964, p. 368).

This plot also failed because the Szeklers and the Magyars refused to be involved in an odious cause meant to destroy the Romanians' interests. They understood that the Romanians were worthily fighting for their national independence.

4. *The International Public Opinion Blames the Magyar Repressive Policy against the Romanians of Transylvania*

Budapest's intolerant policy to the other peoples not only obliged the oppressed nationalities to revolt, but also caused the reactions of the international public opinion. In that period, outstanding representatives of the political, cultural and scientific life of many countries blamed this policy expressing their deep understanding for the national liberation movement of the Romanians, Slovacs, Szeklers, Croatians and Ruthenians in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

In an article about Hungary's history in the Great French Encyclopaedia «Larousse», it was written that «The Hungarians always had too little respect for the other nationalities and they were not tolerant to the other races they lived together; that's why they tried to revenge themselves». Undoubtedly, their «revenge» was nothing but their national emancipation. The policy begun by the Hungarians in 1867 and continued until 1918 was characterized in the Italian Encyclopaedia as follows: «From 1867 until 1918 ..... Transylvania was subject to a firm magyarization policy».

The famous Russian novelist Lev Tolstoi severely criticized the action of Magyarization the other nations of Hungary. In a letter to the review «A Hir» of Budapest, he wrote that: «what is more regrettable is the fact that abroad the count Apponyi has the reputation of being a pacifist, while in Hungary he does not recognize the non-Magyars even the quality of human beings. Any reasonable person must tear off his false mask to prove to the whole mankind that he is not a well-doer but a bird of prey». (Apud: Prof. Ion Lupaş, «Istoria Unirii Românilor», Fundaţia Regală, Bucureşti, 1938, p. 332-333).

As we have already mentioned, another outstanding personality of that epoch, the great Norwegian writer Björnsterne Björnson criticized the Hungarian repressive policy to the coinhabiting nationalities and protesting he refused to take part in the 1907 World Congress of Peace in Munich, where the Magyar delegation was led by Apponyi.

The French historian Jules Michelet speaking to the Western World, described the life of the Romanian people so much oppressed by the Magyar propaganda: «Peoples of Occident, who are far away from barbarity, have been developing peace's arts for such a long time, always remember the Eastern nations situated on Europe's borders who protected and defended you against the Tartar invasion and the Turkish armies. And above all do not forget what you owe to the unhappy Romania».

The well-known English writer and historian Seaton Watson (Scotus Viator) expressed in his works the sincere sympathy for the national liberation fight of the Romanians in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and vehemently blamed the Hungarian leading classes' policy to the coinhabiting nationalities, the oppression methods used «by the Hungarians - along their history - to the coinhabiting peoples of another origin than their».

This historian pointed out that the Romanians' national liberation movement was in fact the revolt cry of several million inhabitants' population against the feudal methods taken over from the Middle Ages and applied there by the privileged class made up of several ten thousands Hungarian aristocrats who tried to perpetuate these methods.

The great French politician Gambetta asserted that «The Romanian problems was caused by the Hungarians' violent methods used for ruling the country». (Apud: Milton G. Lehrer, «Transylvania - Romanian country» (The Problem of Transylvania seen by an American), Bucharest, 1944, p. 123). Of course, the French politician spoke about the Romanians' tragic fate, obliged to live in different states due to the invading policy of the great empires. Even Hungary's most sincere friends expressed their revolt against the Hungarian oppressive policy towards the Romanians.

On the occasion of the World Peace Congress in Rome (1891), Menotti Garibaldi, the son of Italy's national hero Giuseppe Garibaldi, spoke to the Hungarian deputy Pulzsky: «My father sympathized with the Hungarians' cause and supported it thinking that the Hungarians would give a good example of liberalism. But the Hungarians do not deserve Italy's sympathy, because they savagely oppress three million brothers of ours.» (ibidem, p. 120).

Studying the Transylvanian people's old history, the Italian teacher Angelo de Gubernatis wrote: «I consider the Romanians the true Romanized survivors of the ancient Dacia... They remained where the Romans found them and the Dacians gave to mankind two of the best Roman emperors: Aurelian and Probus. Both were Romanians of Transylvania; by them the Romanians really won their own right in the civilized world. The Hungarian history itself had glorious Romanian traces.» (ibidem, p. 115-116). In the end Angelo de Gubernatis wrote that «the Hungarians should not despise the former owners of this land; entire peoples can not be terrorized in our century.» (ibidem, p. 116).

The Italian press criticized the Hungarian repressive policy against the Romanians. «The Magyars - wrote the newspaper «Il Diritto» - have the right to be Italy's friends. But they should not forget that the Romanians are Latins as the Italians and these ones, according to a natural blood law owe their affection». (ibidem, p. 116).

In England, the former under secretary of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Gladestone cabinet, lord Edmund Fitzmaurice, wrote in 1890 that «the Magyar minority's provocative attitude against the Romanians may bring about, from one moment to another, bloody rebellions with inestimable consequences» and «the Hungarians adopt a violent blind policy against the nationalities oppressed by the Hungarian Crown, especially the Romanians». (ibidem).

Moreover the English publicist Wicklem Steed considers the Magyar oppressive policy towards the coinhabiting nationalities as one of the main causes which could bring about a world war. (ibidem, p. 138).

At the end of World War I, lord Norcliffe, the brother of the revisionist leader Rothermore declares in a speech delivered on 4th November 1918: «We must rank the Austro-Hungarian peoples among the world's free nations and offer them the rights to unite with their brothers beyond the present borders of Austro-Hungary. This implies the creation of the independent states Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, Hungary's reduction to the ethnographic limits of the Magyar race and the union of all Romanians with the present Kingdom of Romania». (ibidem, p. 186).

The archduke Franz Ferdinand, supporter of the plan of Great Austria's federal state expressed his indignance against the Hungarians' despotic methods of government, showing a certain sympathy with the Romanians.

Even outstanding personalities of the Magyar people realized the bad significance of the policy for the Romanians' Magyarization, being against the violence used by Budapest governments and militating for the recognition of the other peoples' national rights. Among these it was the baron Wesséleny who declared in the Magyar Parliament, on 24th August 1868; «The matter I want to deal with is of great importance, namely the importance to calm down and reconcile the different peoples living in our country. My mind's eyes see the future of my fatherland overcast by heavy clouds and the future is darker than the darkest of the nights. I can see one single beam, but it is pale and faint: peace and understanding can still save us.» In the end the old blind baron, about whom the Romanian politician Alexandru Vaida-Voevod said that he was more enlightened than the Hungarian leaders of that time recommended that «the nationalities» union is the single way out». (ibidem, p. 104).

Some other outstanding representatives of Hungary's political, scientific and cultural life had to recognize the anachronism of the Hungarian nationalistic-chauvinistic policy against the Romanians.

«The Hungarian disaster - wrote the diplomat J. de Szilassy in his work «Der Untergang der Donau-Monarchie», issued in Berlin after the war - began when the Austro-Hungarian dualism was introduced. This dualism was an anomaly and it represented the Hungarian and German domination «upon the other peoples of Monarchy, a state of affairs that present-day civilization can not tolerate».

The baron Szilassy also pointed out that «using a common army, Hungary or better said the Hungarian magnates put into practice the nationalities' Magyarization, considering that what is impossible in the whole world could be achieved in Budapest.» Szilassy stressed that «We, the Hungarians, did not want to learn anything, we did not want to take into account the fact that oriental Hungary is inhabited by the Romanians and moreover that these represented the majority. In 1864, Austria granted the Romanians national autonomy, but three years later Hungary broke it. Such a torture upon a people in the 20th century was unbearable. The federal system was the single one which could prevent the disaster. Nevertheless, Hungary did not accept it.» (ibidem, p. 139). These were realistic words emphasizing the blame put on the crimes and injustice committed by the Magyar magnates against the oppressed peoples; but they could not change the history any longer; the national liberation movements were too strong and it was this struggle to create and recreate unitary and independent states.

5. *The Trial of the Memorandum-writers from Cluj. The European Public Opinion Protests Against the Frame-Up of the Magyar Justice and Solidarizes with the Romanians' National Liberation Movement*

Beginning with the second half of the 19 th century, the national liberation movement of the Romanians from Transylvania, the Banat, Crişana, Bukovina and Maramureş greatly increased. After the conclusion of the 1867 pact, which intensified national oppression, a group of Romanian intellectuals signed at Blaj, on May 3/15, 1848, contesting the right of the Magyar Diet to draw up laws for Transylvania.

On January 26/February 7, 1869, the National Party of the Romanians of the Banat and Hungary was created under the leadership of Alexandru Mocioni, and on February 23/24 - March 7/8, 1869, after the Miercurea Conference, the National Party of the Romanians from Transylvania was created under the leadership of Ilie Măcelaru («Istoria Transilvaniei», vol. II, Editura Academiei RPR, p. 233/234/237). In spite of all shortcomings existing in their activity, these parties did not recognize Transylvania's incorporation into Hungary, supporting the national claims of the Romanian people and of other peoples from the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

The National Party of the Romanians from the Banat and Hungary adopted the political activism tactics which had a view the Romanians' active participation in the political life, especially in elections to obtain some mandates of MPs in Parliament; the National Party of the Romanians from the ex-principality of Transylvania was the supporter of the passivist tactics, of opposition against the Magyar leading classes' chauvinism.

But the two parties were shortly dissolved after their creation; they continued their activity secretely. After these parties dissolvation (under the pretext that in Transylvania there is no other nationality but the Magyar one), in 1872 the leaders of the Romanians' national liberation movement drew up a memorial which was not accepted by the authorities.

It contained the claims included in the program of the National Party of the Romanians from Transylvania, namely the recognition of the Romanian as a second official language, administrative-territorial reorganization according to the distribution of nationalities, a new electoral law, the autonomy of the confessional schools, the use of the Romanian language (along with the Hungarian language) in the Cluj University, the capital of Transylvania, equal appointment for the Romanians.

The acquiring of Romania's state independence was a strong incentive for the national liberation struggle of the Romanians from Transylvania. In 1881, the Romanian National Party from Banat and Hungary and the Romanian National Party from Transylvania merged under the name of the Romanian National Party and as a result of this political act the Romanian people's struggle has intensified. Its representatives forwarded their petitions and memorials to the Imperial Court in Vienna, they were made a larger and larger publicity in order to draw the attention of the European public opinion to the just cause of the Romanian people from Transylvania, subjected to the hardest national oppression known by Europeans, an oppression similar to that of Russia with regard to the peoples under its yoke.

The 1881 Conference from Sibiu of the Romanian National Party from Transylvania and Banat decided to write a memorial in Romanian, French, German and Hungarian in order to bring «the terrible sufferings endured by the Romanians from Transylvania» and the persecutions they were subjected to to the knowledge of the European peoples.

The memorandum was published in Paris in 1883 and produced a very strong impression among the intellectual circles in France, Britain, Italy, Belgium and other states. It was the first document ever published across the borders of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy regarding the inhuman treatment applied for centuries to the Romanians from Transylvania.

Solidarizing with the struggle of the Romanians from Transylvania the students of Bucharest and Jassy Universities, the largest ones in Romania in those times, wrote in their turn an ample memorandum to be published abroad. In this memorandum they described in detail all the stages of the tragedy of the Romanians from the ex-province Dacia which fell into the hands of an Asian barbarian tribe which came to Europe in the 9th century, at a gallop, without any books, without arts, without civilization.

In France the memorandum stirred a real wave of sympathy for the cause of the Romanians from Transylvania. The General Association of the French Students taking the memorandum into account recalled the famous words of Montesquieu: «There is a penal law both for individuals and for peoples».

In its turn the press stigmatized in harsh words the feudal methods of the Hungarian government to oppress the peoples. The memorandum had a strong echo in Belgium too.

Professor Louis van Keymeilen from Anvers wrote in an article published in the daily «Le Précurseur»: «Western Europe must not forget that the Romanian race is an advanced guard of civilization in the Orient and, by virtue of this name, Europe cannot look indifferently at what happens now at the foot of the Carpathians». (Apud: Milton G. Lehrer, op. cit., p. 109-110).

Not to provoke a great political scandal the Magyars limited the prosecution only to some of the authors of this movement and, especially only against doctor Aurel C. Popovici who was imprisoned for four years and a 5,000 fl.fine, a very large sum of money at that time.

Aurel C. Popovici's sentence caused new protests in a number of European states: «This trial-wrote the French publicist Felix Leseur in «La République Française» of September 2, 1893 - will remain in the contemporary history of Europe as one of the saddest examples of what the tyranny and brutality of a people lager for enslaving another people at any rate may bring about».

The same day, the daily «Il Foro Romagnolo», published in Ravenna wrote: «The sacrifice of these generous champions will strongly contribute to the modification of the state of things in the Kingdom of St. Stephen, this edifice of monstrous form in which law, justice and morals are suffocated by a crude and tyrannical hegemony».

The sentence of Aurel C. Popovici did not discourage the Romanians, but on the contrary it made them fight with new forces. Therefore, in 1892, they wrote a new Memorandum which 300 delegates of theRomanians from Transylvania were going to give the Emperor Franz Josef. The delegates headed by barrister Ioan Raţiu of Turda went to Vienna in March 1892, but Franz Josef, under the Magyars' pressure, refused to receive the Romanian delegation.

The envelope enclosing the Romanian Memorandum reached, however, the Emperor's hands, but without opening it, he sent it to the Hungarian Minister of the Interior at that time, Hieronymyi, who, in his turn, sent it on, without opening the envelope, to the State Archives in Budapest to be kept there. That was the way the Hungarian authorities understood to inquire the just demands of the three millions of Romanians living in Transylvania under the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

The 1892 Memorandum was preceded by the action organized by the Romanian Student's Committee from Transylvania which, in 1891, wrote the so-called «Reply» in five languages (Romanian, French, German, English and Italian) and spread it in 12,000 copies. In the «Reply» the Committee courageously revealed the inferiority state imposed upon the Romanian nation from Transylvania as well as the national oppression which materialized in several political and press trials. The event stirred a strong interest in the European press contributing to the formation of a current of opinion favourable to the Romanian people's struggle.

On the occasion of the trial of the authors of «The Reply» and «1892 Memorandum» which took place in Cluj between May 7 - 25, 1894, the accused strongly condemned the national oppression policy of the Hungarian oligarchy and refused to defend themselves because they did not consider themselves brought to court as individuals as they committed the felony as mandataries of the Romanian people from Transylvania. And Ioan Raţiu, one of the authors of this memorandum and leader of the Romanian National Party, concluded that a whole people cannot be brought to trial. The Romanian people from Transylvania stated its right to existence, by means of the Memorandum, a right which cannot be brought to trial in any instance.

The trial had a large echo among the Romanians who spontaneously joined in huge sympathy demonstrations all over Transylvania and especially in Cluj, demonstrations held both before and during the trial. The debates were followed very attentively abroad and they brought about a large current of sympathy in favour of the Romanian national cause.

On May 25, 1894 the Magyar justice sentenced the Romanian patriots to hard years of imprisonment varying between five years and eight months, as well as huge fines for those times. Among the convicts were: Ioan Raţiu, Vasile Lucaciu, Gh. Pop de Băseşti, Dimitrie Comşa, Iuliu Coroianu, Teodor Mihali, Nicolae Cristea, Aurel Suciu and others, all outstanding representatives of the Romanians from Transylvania. The Memorandum-writers' trial and the regime of police terror set up by the Magyar government in Transylvania to suppress the Romanians' idea of national liberty had a strong echo within the international public opinion. In a number of towns in France and Britain there were meetings of protest against the repressive policy of the Magyar government in Budapest and of solidarity with the leaders of the national liberation movement of the convicted Romanians. Prominent figures of political and cultural life from a number of countries vehemently criticized the methods of terror applied by the Hungarians from Transylvania and solidarized with the legitimate cause of the Romanian people. Articles regarding the heroic struggle of the Romanian leaders brought to the Hungarian court were published in many newspapers from France, Britain, Italy, Germany, Austria and other countries.

«The suit tried now by the jurors in Cluj in which 25 members of the Romanian National Party are involved - wrote Henri Rochefort in «L'Intransigeant» - really overpasses all the conceivable limits of inequity».

Further on, the author added: «The crime of the accused is the following: oppressed, persecuted and treated as wild beasts by the Magyars, the Romanians from Transylvania have sent delegates to the Emperor of Austria, their sovereign, to present their complaints. But the Hungarian pride does not allow the Romanians exploited and tortured by their adamant masters go and ask for help from the supreme chief of the Empire» (Ibidem, p. 114).

The great French political man Clémenceau, in his article «The Fight of the Races» published in the newspaper he directed «La Justice» harshly charged the despotic system of the Hungarians' ruling. «By means of arbitrary dispositions, introduced in the electoral law - he wrote - the Romanians were deprived of this political right. The electoral qualification was ten times higher for the Romanians from Transylvania than the rest of Hungary. Out of 417 MPs of the Parliament, the Romanians should have 75 MPs. They have none».

Refering to the memorandum-writers' trial, Clémenceau stated that «this trial is a shame for the free Magyar people. Dr. Raţiu and his friends might be sentenced, but the European opinion acquitted them in advance». (Ibidem).

In its turn, the daily «La Libre parole», May, 8, 1894, wrote: «... this Hungarian people with Kossuth and his friends have never ceased to be the savagest tyrants of the nationalities they succeeded to conquer».

When the severe sentence against the leaders of the Romanians' national movement given by the Magyar Courts was known abroad, the famous French historian Ernest Lavisse sent the convicts the following message of sympathy: «To the Romanians who due to the fact that they had claimed the Romanian people's rights were unjustly charged and convicted, I send my homage of respectful admiration and my profound sympathy as well as my warm wishes for the revenge of justice and law brutally offended in their person. I hope that this revenge will soon come and I am really convinced that it will come. Long live Romania!»

Even in Italy, linked with the Austro-Hungary by the Triple Alliance Pact, there were some voices that sided with the Romanian patriots brought to the national-chauvinistic Hungarian court in Cluj. Thus, on June 22, 1894, the famous archeologist Angelo de Gubernatis wrote: «The Hungarians ask for themselves all the liberties... They ask for unheard privileges. They want to be the absolute masters of the Romanians and they want the Romanians to be their servants. This is no longer possible and acceptable». (ibidem, p. 117).

The daily «Il Diritto» published in its turn, in Rome, a number of articles on the Memorandum-writers' trial. «The conviction of the national representatives of the Romanians from Transylvania charged with the writing of the Memorandum in their people's favour will cause an impression of disgust in the civilised world.»

During the Cluj trial, the Oxford University in Britain held a meeting of sympathy with the Romanians from Transylvania and scholars, famous professors, men of letters and many students attended it.

The renowned British philologist and Romanist W.R. Morphill, who chaired the meeting, in a highly moral speech asked his fellow-citizens to join with sympathy to the cause «of a nation full of life, energetic and industrious, that asks nothing but to be an element of culture within the large European family.» (ibidem, p. 113).

In the summer of 1894, the statement of Dr. Ioan Raţiu in front of the jury in Cluj had a strong echo in the international public opinion. «What made us publish and spread our Memorandum -stated I. Raţiu - was the fact that both the Hungarian legislation and the Hungarian government persuaded us that we could never wait justice from them. The promises to observe our national rights were made in vain; these promises were given to us solemnly many a time. In vain did we try all the forms and legal ways. In vain did we appeal to all competent authorities. The race exclusivism declared war of extermination to our language and to our people. We had no other choice: to address to the head of the state and to the opinion of civilized world.»

To conclude with, Dr. Raţiu stated:

«What is discussed in front of the court is even the existence of the Romanian people! But the existence of a people is not discussed, it is asserted».

The memorandum-writers' trial sued by the Hungarian justice awoke reprovable feelings against the Hungarian terrorist policy against other peoples even in Germany and Austria, countries that founded the Triple Alliance.

All those who know the state of things in Transylvania - wrote the daily «Neue Preussische Zeitung» of May 6, 1894 - will admit that this trial could have only one result: to keep alive the hatred against everything which is Magyar and to endanger the very existence of the Empire itself, as everybody knew that, because of the brutal policy of Magyarization, the Hungarians are the most hated people in Eastern Europe.» (Ibidem, p. 113)

6. *In the Autumn of 1918, by Terror and Mass Assassinations, the Leading Magyar Circles Tried to Suppress the Struggle for National Liberation*

After the first world conflagration broke out, the Magyar authorities cruelly repressed any demonstration of the Romanian patriots in Transylvania in favour of their state, and brutally rejected any attempt of resistance to the abuses against the non-Magyar population. The draconic measures specially devised against the Romanians were openly justified as meant to annihilate the «traitrous» nationalities.

The XVIII Law stipulated the material responsabilities of the «traitors» and, by virtue of its provisions, the Romanians accused of treason had their property confiscated or forfeited, were imprisoned etc. The Hungarian state decided to make a new distribution of the land. The frontier districts, inhabited by a dense Romanian majority, were colonized with Hungarian border guards. Other draft bills, prepared by the most sinister figures of the Hungarian chauvinists, were to strike at the last remains of the secular and confessional education, at the Romanian Orthodox Church, together with the forced Magyarization of the Romanians enlisted in the Austro-Hungarian army.

In order to accomplish «the work», the Hungarian government appointed Ugron Gabor Apponyi's ardent support, governor of Transylvania. During his «rule» the Transylvanian towns and villages were emptied of all their intellectuals and leading political figures. Whole convoys of Romanians were sent to deportation places in the Hungarian steppe or filled Hungarian jails. In two years, in the prison of Cluj alone, 26,000 Romanians were imprisoned, 132 priests were snatched from their altars, from among their belivers. Eleven of them died because of the tortures, detention and hunger they were submbitted to. (Constantin Kiriţescu, History of the war for Romania's Unity, 1916-1918 (in Romanian) Second Edition, Casa Scoalelor Printing House, Bucharest, p. 362). It is not known and may never be known how many Romanians perished during those terrible years of Hungarian terror.

The Magyars' fury against the «cursed» Romanians took the form of mass assassinations, particularly to the end of the war when the course of historic evolution was implacable: the disintegration of multinational empires and the setting up, on their ruins, of the national united states. In the summer of 1916, there were put to death by hanging eight members of the patriotic resistance organization from Braşov, led by Spiridon Boita and David Pop, later called «The Club of the Hanged».

In the autumn of 1918, while the Romanian population was taking heavy actions to put an end to the Austro-Hungarian domination and to unite with Romania, Magyar nationalist-chauvinistic elements from the army administration and police organized themselves in terrorist and diversionary groups trying to suppress the national liberation movement of the Romanians in Transylvania.

On the 8th of November 1918, armed with machine guns, a 65 military Magyar group set up in Budapest by the Hungarian magnate from Transylvania Ion Urmánczy, supported by the Hungarian war minister, savagely murdered more than 45 Romanian peasants in Beliş and put an end to the lives of tens of other Romanian patriots in the Apuseni Mountains. In Arad, in november 1918, the Steel Helmets of the Hungarian counter-revolution murdered more than 300 Romanian citizens, who had been demonstrating for Transylvania's union with Romania, while in Făget the airplanes sent by Issekutz, the sub-prefect of Lugoj, machine-gunned fourteen Romanians. In Transylvania and Banat armed bands, headed by Magyar magnates, rushed at the villages inhabited by Romanians killing hundreds of other innocent people during these raids. At the same time, groups of the former Hungarian army, led by nationalist officers who could not get accustomed to the union of Transylvania with Romania, organized genuine raids of retaliation in the Transylvanian districts which, after the Peace Treaty in Trianon, in 1920, were situated on the new border with Hungary, assassinating numerous Romanians, Germans and Jews who had distinguished themselves in the struggle for national liberation or had taken part in the distribution of the Magyar landowners' estates.

There were also many victims among the Magyar population, especially among the peasants who, together with the Romanians, had participated in the distribution of the Magyar counts' lands.

The military groups of the Szecklers, who had been in the Hungarian army, committed crimes and atrocities against the Romanian population sowing terror on their way. Among them the Szeckler division, led by General Kratechwel Karoly, distinguished itself, later its members organized a paramilitary and terrorist group.

The Szeckler Division, committed numerous crimes against the Romanian population during the Horthyst domination in the North-West Transylvania (the 30th of August 1940 - the 25th of September 1944).

As a result of the events happening in the Empire and menacing with its collapse as well as due to the outbreak of terror against the Romanians and launched by the armed units of the Magyars and Szecklers, the political and military leading figures of the Romanian population proceeded to the organization of their own administrative and defensive bodies: the national councils and guards.

The way in which the Romanians considered to act towards the nationalities (the Magyars included) in Transylvania under these difficult circumstances, is revealed by the very Hungarian acknowledgements after the end of the first world conflagration. In his memoirs, the former governor of Transylvania, Dr. Varjassy Lajos, wrote: «We must impartially acknowledge that the Romanian guards succeeded to get exceptional merits in keeping order.» (Dr. Varjassy Lajos, Karoly Kun, Horthy Oktoberi fooradobel a «bunos» Budapest no dalataig 1918-1919, p. 23).

By a clever and intense propaganda abroad, the Hungarians tried to save the territorial integrity of the Hungarian Kingdom, arguing the «unlawfulness» of the oppressed peoples' national rights which were claiming their right to selfdetermination. Their efforts were in vain. After the union of Bassarabia with Romania, in March, and with Bucovina in November, on the 1st of December 1918, the more than 100.000 representatives of the Romanians of Transylvania present in Alba Iulia - the fortified city where, in 1600, Michael the Brave, prince of Tara Românească, solemnly proclaimed the union of the Romanian principalities in a single state - decided the everlasting reunification of Transylvania with Romania. This decision marked the formation of the Romanian national united state. In the *Proclamation of Union* adopted in Alba Iulia by the Grand National Assembly, there were granted the rights and democratic liberties of all the inhabitants of Transylvania irrespective of race or language, which, generally, will be observed in the re-united Romania.

Regarding this aspect the Proclamation claimed solemnly:

1. «A complete national liberty for all the co-inhabiting peoples (namely nationalities). Each people will have instruction, administration and justice in its own language and with its own people and each people will be represented in the legislative and ruling bodies of the country, proportional to its number of people.
2. A complete carrying into effect of a democratic regime in every field of public life. Public, direct, equal and secret vote, in every village, proportional, for both sexes at the age of 21 when represented in villages, districts or parliament.
3. Equal justice and complete, self-governing confessional freedom for each denomination in the state.
4. A complete freedom of press, associating and assembling, a free propaganda for all human thoughts.
5. A radical land reform...».

The Proclamation, showing the Romanians' desire for peace, appealed to each state for understanding and co-operation. It also echoed the Romanians' fraternization with the formerly oppressed peoples who had conquered their liberty. The National Assembly welcomes with love and enthusiasm the freedom of the nations subjugated in the Austria-Hungary monarchy until today, that is: Czecho-Slovak, Austro-German, Jugoslav, Polish and Ruthenian nations and decides to inform all these nations of its welcoming.

On the 8th of January, at the meeting in Mediaş, the Saxons of Transylvania expressed their adherence to the decisions from Alba Iulia. Rejecting the manoeuvres of the Hungarian reaction meant to maintain the old Hungarian state, in the summer of 1919, the Swabians from Banat Crişana adhered to this act. Thus, the population of German nationality, the third in number after the Romanians and Magyars from Transylvania, acknowledged the lawfulness of the legitimate rights of the Romanian people to settle in a national united Romanian state, warmly welcoming the decisions from Alba Iulia and the contents of the Proclamation of Union.

The representatives of the Magyar reactionary circles in Transylvania could not get accustomed to this situation, being solidary supporters of the ruling circles from Hungary, that is not acknowledging the Romanians' national rights. To the proposal of certain nationalistic circles in Budapest, on the 22nd of December 1918, the Magyar National Council from Cluj, in an extempore meeting, which contrary to the will expressed in Alba Iulia by the representatives of the Romanian population from Transylvania which was in majority in this province, claimed in the motion carried that the peoples from Transylvania wanted to live in the unity of state... with Hungary.

The hostile actions of the reactionary Magyar forces against the union of Transylvania with Romania were not strong enough to hamper a natural historic process, of national unity of a peopple, which expressed its will in the historic Assembly from Alba Iulia, held three weeks before.

The Romanians' strong national liberation movement at the end of 1918 and the decisions of the Assembly from Alba Iulia, unlike the propaganda of the Hungarian reactionary circles, had a great echo among the Magyar population in Transylvania. The progressive forces of this population, hostile to the policy of national oppression, welcomed the historic act of the 1st of December 1918, which sanctioned the union of Transylvania with Romania, appreciating correctly the character of the Romanians' national liberation movement. As the Romanian and German population, they also wanted the setting up of a democratic regime and the granting for the co-inhabiting nationalities, of the rights stipulated in the Proclamation from Alba Iulia. Numerous Magyars attended together with the Romanians the Great National Meeting from Alba Iulia on the day of the proclamation of the union of Transylvania with Romania.

At the same time, large circles of the Magyar population made a stand against the manoeuvres of aristocracy and great Hungarian bourgeoisie, originating from Transylvania and taking refuge in Budapest where they founded the «National Szeckler Council».

The bringing into being of the Romanian united state by the historic act on the 1st of December 1918, through the great struggle and the unanimous will of the whole nation, got, as it was expected, the recognition from the European Great powers at that time, being sanctioned by the peace treaty concluded at the end of the war.

On the occasion of the peace negotiations in Paris, the representatives of Hungary tried to court the favour of certain political and diplomatic circles in the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and other countries, in order to maintain the territorial integrity of Hungary, not to acknowledge the historical rights of the Romanians and Slavs.

To this purpose, they launched a series of theories, among which the one about the danger of the Bolshevic penetration in Hungary, of the historical millenial rights of Hungary, the economic and cultural identity between Hungary and the territories which had belonged to it, etc.

On the 4th of July, 1920, after long debates, the Peace Conference signed the Treaty of Trianon between Hungary, on one side, and the allied and associated powers, on the other. In the Treaty of Trianon the territorial problems, which involved the interests of Hungary, Italy, Jugoslavia, Czecho-Slovakia and Romania, were settled. In essence, Hungary recognized the independence of the states that were newly formed or that had achieved their state unity as a result of the fall of the Hapsburg Empire which had often been looked at as «a prison of the peoples».

7. *The Horthyst Leading Circles Intensify the Denationalization and Magyarization Measures Against the Co-inhabiting Nationalities*

After defeating the Bolshevik revolution, led by Béla Khun, who had arrived from Moscow with money and instructions, the power in 1920's Hungary was assumed by the Admiral Miklos Horthy who, after the Peace Conference in Paris, increased the intolerance towards the non-Magyar populations living in Hungary and progressively developed a vivid and determined revisionist policy, whose principal aim consisted in recovering Transylvania and other territories lost by Hungary.

The populations of other nationality that remained in Hungary's territory stipulated by the Treaty of Trianon: 600,000 Germans, over 500,000 Jews, 300,000 Slovaks, 80-100,000 Romanians, other hundreds of thousands Ruthenians a.s.o. faced an intensified action of denationalization and Magyarization perpetrated by the Hungarian authorities.

In order to denationalize, Magyarise and repress the national communities, besides the methods and instruments of the previous century (Instruction, Church, Administration, Justice, Army, Press and Publications) and those brought about by the progress of science in the world (Radio, Cinema a.s.o.), the Horthy-Fascist regime resorted to revisionist associations and societies, to the paramilitary and terrorist organizations and to fascist and pro-nazi political parties and groups. Among these a prominent role was played by: *The Guard of the Ragged, The Turanian Hunters, The «Tweul» Association* and *The Riflemen Union, The «Levente» Association, The «Crosses with Arrows» Party* and the extreme right organization *MOVE*.

In Budapest, Pécs and Debreczen were functioning special institutes for the study of the Nationalities' Problem, which elaborated solutions for the non-Magyar populations denationalization and Magyarization. At the same time, like in Hitlerite Germany, the leaders of the Horthyst Hungary used racist, biological and fascist methods in order to diminish the number of the non-Magyar population. During the census, numerous non-Magyar citizens were listed as Magyars, and by a series of economic restricting measures, and also through the agency of the Church, the Instruction and the register offices they were obliged to Magyarize their names and to change their nationality into a Hungarian one.

Although in Hungary there was a fascist regime similar to that existing in Hitlerite Germany, the leaders of the Horthyst revisionism did not spare even the German nationality living in that country. A systematic action of forced denationalization and Magyarization was carried on against the Germans enlisting them as Magyars. When the usual repressive methods did not bring the desired results, mass agression and murder were used and the help of the paramilitary terrorist organizations and of the fascist parties was asked for. As, for instance, in 1938 during the Parliamentary elections, the terrorist grous of *the Guard of the Raggeds* and of *the «Crosses and Arrows» Party* brutally repressed the candidates of the German nationality from Hungary, murdering a lot of German citizens. All methods of denationalization were used against the Romanians in Hungary, so that about the Second World War their number sensibly

diminished.

Exposing the carring on of the Magyarizing policy against the non-Magyar populations in Hungary, after the Treaty of Trianon, led by the Horthy fascist regime, the German writer Rüdiger revealed in a conference held in Munich that, on the basis of data gathered by himself from Hungary, Jugoslavia and Romania, the last one «is the most liberal country as regarding the treatment of the minorities (*Rumänien ist das freieste Land der Behandlung der Minderheiten*) while in Hungary the Magyarization is continuing its course, with a more pronounced intensity» (see Milton G. Lehrer, *op. cit.*, p. 257). At the same time he revealed the situation of the Germans in Banat County, which, from economic, political and cultural points of view was better than that of the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy. Through its policy - he said - Romania was seeking to limit the Magyar chauvinistic agents' action of denationalizing the Germans in Satu Mare County.

8. *Horthyst Hungary Prepared at Length to Take Revenge against Romania. The Revisionist Propaganda and the Organization of the Means to Destroy the Romanians*

The exacerbation of the national chauvinistic spirit and the intense propaganda waged at home to excite the Hungarians' national feelings in order to restore Hungary within the boundaries of Steven's Kingdom, correlated with a furious propaganda abroad, were characteristic elements of the political orientation of the Fascist-Horthyst regime in Hungary, in power from march 1920.

The Horthyst Fascism, combined with revisionism, had appeared in Hungary since 1918-1919, when, feudal-aristocratic elements leading the Hungarian army and the repressive police body tried to suppress, by terror, the struggle for national liberty of the oppressed peoples of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy. In supporting and spreading revisionism the whole system of the state and private economic and financial bodies in Horthyst Hungary was put into motion to assure the Hungarians economic domination to the prejudice of the oppressed nationalities. Hungarian private, industrial and commerical establishments were spreading the anti-Romanian revisionist ideas on the occasion of different international economic expositions and in the Magyar public houses abroad (restaurants, night clubs etc.).

To popularize the revisionist ideology in Hungary there were several professional, political and sports associations, scientific, literary-artistic societies etc., among them an important place was that of the Society for Foreign Policy, which was preparing the staff of the Magyar diplomatic body, as well as the Hungarian-German, Hungarian-Italian and Finish-Hungarian societies were having intense activity to make the public opinion of these countries be sympathetic to the Hungarian territorial claims, in prejudice of the neighbour states, especially Romania. After the Treaty of Trianon and up to 1944, Horthy's fascist revisionism, which characterized the whole political life in Hungary, highly influenced the superstructure in this country as well as its political ideological and philosophical ideas. The Magyar political thought was imbued with reactionary, national-chauvinistic, fascist and revanchist ideas and theories, from conquering the territories the oppressed peoples struggled to liberate from the Austro-Hungarian domination and unite to the countries they had historically belonged to (Romania, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia) to the substantiation of the future imperialist Horthyst policy to extend to boundaries of «Great Hungary» by a policy of territorial expansion in the Balkans and to the Black Sea. In the army, police and among the members of the fascist parties and terrorist organizations, the atavistic and sadistic instincts were upheld.

All the political bourgeois parties existing during Horthy's dictatorship, both the fascist and profascist parties - the *Party «The Cross with Arrows», the Party of the Magyar Revival, the National-Socialist Party in Hungary* etc. - and the neofascist ones - *the Party of the Petty Agrarian Owners, The Legitimist Party, the Party of Independence* a.s.o., had in their program as a main goal, the revisionism and did their best to recover certain territories to the neighbouring states detriment. They represented the main political and ideological instrument in organizing and stirring up the revisionist activity at home or abroad, in promoting an aggressive expansionist foreign policy hostile towards the neighbouring states.

The program of the fascist and profascist parties and of certain Magyar bourgeois organizations, had a revisionist and national-chauvinistic character. For example, the program of the *Party «The Cross with Arrows»,* led by Szálassy and Hubay had a clear revisionist aggressive and expansionist bent aiming not only at reoccupying the territories that had belonged to Hungary until 1918, but also at extending their expansion to other peoples and areas in the South-East of Europe. In August 1938, speaking about the program of his party, among other things, Hubay emphasized «The Magyar National Socialism aims to assure Hungary's supremacy in the Danubian basin». In his turn, in a book printed in 1936, Ferenc Szálassy tried to make believable the idea that Horthyst Hungary, with Nazi Germany, militaristic Japan, will play an important part in redividing the world in spheres of influence among these three states. Thus, according to Szálassy, the first sphere of influence, the German one, was to cover the Western Europe and the European area of the Soviet Russia. The second zone, the Japanese one, was to have under its influence Asia and Northern America, and the third one, the Magyar sphere, was to cover South-East Europe.

In this aggressive view, Szálassy suggested the setting up of a Magyar State called the Great Carpato-Danubian Homeland (Karpat-Duna-Nagy-Hoza). Actually, this state was to cover not only the territories that had been under Hungary's domination before 1918, but also other territories of Romania, Jugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. (see Ferenc Szálassy, *Utés Cél,* Budapest 1936, p. 118). Defining the strategy of the Horthyst revisionist policy, Tibor Eckhardt, the leader of the Petty Agrarian Owners Party, stated in the Parliament in Budapest, in 1935: «The Magyar revisionism relies not only on Germany and Japan, but also on the collaboration of all the states ready to accept Hungary's demands.» All the fascist parties and organizations were used by the Horthyst leading circles both as shock groups meant to repress the democratic movement in this country, to carry on terrorist and diversionary actions in Romania or on the territory of other countries.

Among the most active and revisionist organizations in Hungary was The Association of National Defense (MOVE, Magyar Orszagos Vederö Egyesület) founded and led by the fascist politician Gyula Gömbös and his supporter, Bella Marton, who favoured the setting up of a fascist dictatorship, National-Socialist in essence. As part of this organization which stood for the right wing of the governmental party of the National Unity, functioned an official department (The Hungarian Association for the Scientific Protection of the Race) and a secret section (E.K.Sz - Etélköz Szövetseg), organized on the framework of the old Magyar tribes before the conquering of the Carpathic area (Nicholas M.Nagy-Talavera, The Green Shirts and the Others. A History of fascism in Hungary and Romania, Hoover Institution Press Stanford University California, 1970, p. 51).

The Revisionist League (Magyar Revizios Liga) made up of elements of the Magyar bourgeoisie and intellectuals, waged an intense revisionist propaganda at home and abroad, through conferences, expositions, leaflets and by enticing some foreign journalists to write in Hungary's favour. Its president was Dr. Herczeg Ferenc, Horthy's secret adviser, and its officious press organ, the newspaper *Pesti Hirlap*. The Magyar Revisionist League tried to gain supporters all over the world. It printed leaflets and albums, one entitled *Hungary's Right* was printed in several languages and spread all over the world. To all this we may add the numerous demonstrations organized by the League in the streets of Budapest and in other towns of Hungary, on the celebration of St. Steven's day. The day of May, 17, was declared the day of propaganda against the Peace Treaty of Trianon. On the territory of Horthyst Hungary there was also acting the Association of the Transylvanian Men, numbering over 12,000 members, especially from the Magyars who had left Transylvania after 1918, association involved in an intense revisionist activity against Romania, too.

The danger of Hortysm for the territories' integrity and the national unity of Romania consisted not only in the revisionist propaganda in Hungary and abroad, but especially in the military and paramilitary training of the population for a revenge war against Romanian and the neighbouring states, by the annexation of certain territories from them.

The Magyar army feverishly prepared for the revenge war against Romania. It was equipped with modern weapons by the states of the Axis and developed its military co-operation with the armies from Bulgaria, Italy, Austria, Poland, Germany and Finland. In the summer of 1939 when Germany invaded and dissolved the state of Czechoslovakia, the Magyar militar units were massed on Romania's North-West border.

At the same time, the Magyar army was trained for guerilla action on Romania's territory and to launch repressive attacks and mass atrocities in order to exterminate the non-Magyar population in the annexed territories.

The Horthyst leading circles also created certain terrorist and paramilitary organizations, which, besides the army, were to put into practice the Magyar expansionist policy.

These paramilitary and terrorist organizations were led by *the Committee for the Defense of the Nation* co-ordinated by Section II of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers and by the Ministry of Propaganda, being included in *the Federation of the Organizations for the Defense of the Nation.* At the top of these organizations there were numerous officers, especially generals, who had held important political and administrative offices. The paramilitary organizations were made up of fanatical elements, from the Magyar nationalist point of view, and they were systematically subjected to a chauvinistic exaltation, ready for aggressive actions such as terror, assassination and sabotage, in favour of revisionism. Besides their public-known number and goal, the paramilitary organizations had special terrorist sections, consisting of well elected and trained elements, in order to perform terrorist actions in the territories claimed by Hun-

1. *The Order of the Valiant (Vitézi Renz)* numbering fifty thousand members headed by Horthy's regent himself founded immediately after the first world war in order to maintain the revisionist psychosis and the spirit of revenge among the former military people of the Magyar army. The members of this order were put in possession of «valiant lots» of land. At the South and South-East borders of Hungary there were hundreds of such possessions. These colonies of the «valiant ones» represented centres of revisionist propaganda against the neighbour countries.

2. *The Union of the Ex-service Men* - had gathered more than three hundred thousand ex-service men from the first world war.

Its president was the regent Horthy. This Union was the most outspread revisionist organization in Hungary, its members distinguishing in the terrorist actions against the civil population, when the North-West Transylvania was occupied, after *the Diktat of Vienna,* 30 August 1940, and in January 1942 when the rising of Bucica was stamped out and more than thirty-nine thousand innocent people were killed.

3. *The Guard of the Ragged (Rongyos Garda)* was the meanest and most aggressive Magyar terrorist organization. It numbered more than twenty-five thousand members.

Later it was officially called *The General Magyar Union for the Race Protection,* gradually becoming a typical Fascist terrorist organization, used by the Horthyst regime to stamp out the democratic movement at home and to achieve the expansionist policy abroad.

The members of the shock troops of this organization (trained to act on Romania's territory) were preferably recruited from among the Transylvanian Magyar refugees speaking Romanian. They were used in diversionary actions in 1939/1940 to prepare the Horthyst Hungary's aggression against Romania. When the Horthyst troops occupied the Northern Transylvania, The Ragges participated, together with the military and police authorities, in the mass-atrocities committed against the Romanian population.

4. *The Turanian Hunters (Turani Vadaszok)*, a terrorist organization, which played an important part in the preparation of the military aggression against Romania, was founded in 1932 by the Magyar pro-Hilterite and revisionist general and premier Gyula Gombos, and carried on the secret military instruction of the youth.

5. *The Union of the Comradely Associations «Turul»*, a terrorist organization, used only for military actions against Roma-

nia, consisted of intellectuals. Its leaders, for a material situation granted by government, guided its members to a nationalist chauvinistic attitude. It had about 30,000 members, men and women, and in its leadership was the journalist Dr. Gyula Szabó, member of the fascist party «The Crosses with Arrows».

6. *The Szeckler Division Association* gathered the military of the ex-Szeckler division which, in 1918/1920, under the command of the general Kratochwil Károly, opposed the Romanian army in its fight to liberate Transylvania from the Austro-Hungarian occupation. The program of the association stipulated the occupation of the whole Transylvania and the protection of the former members of this division.

In accordance with the national defense law in Horthyst Hungary, the «*Levente*» Organization, a paramilitary training organization of the Hungarian youth, gathered the young men between 18 to 21 years old and the girls between 16-24 years old, and its program aimed at educating the young generation in the spirit of the revisionist ideas of stirring up the spirit of revenge. In time of peace the «Leventes» were used to keep an eye on the suspects, to persecute and to Magyarize the non-Magyar pre-military youth. In time of war, the organization was meant to back up the army, police and gendarmerie in carring on their missions both inside the country and, especially, on the frontier zones. The flag of the organization was handed by Horthy himself, and on the specific «Levente» actions there were present high officials of the Hungarian state. Defining the atrocious mission of this organization, Dücso Csaba, in his work *Nincs Kegylem* printed in Budapest in 1939, trying to praise the cruel mentalities of the Magyar ancestors, said: «The Magyar nation is the most splendid embodiment of the Mongol master race who had known only victories. Atila's, Arpad's and Gingiskhan's blood is boiling in our veins.» He emphasized the «Levente»'s aim was to exterminate the Romanians by any means: murder, poison, fire a.s.o. Thus, Drücso Csabo quoted from «*The Levente's Oath*» the words of Magyar levente Tordai who was telling to his girl-friend: «I don't wait for the revenge to come. I don't! I'll kill every Valah in my way. I'll kill all of them! There will be no pitty. I'll put fire to their villages at night -valah villages. I'll put to the sword the whole population; I'll poison their wells and I'll kill even the babies in the cradle. In a word, I'll destroy this nation. No pitty for anybody!» Dücso kept on writing: «Neither for babies in the cradle, nor for the mother who'll give birth to a bady... I'll murder every Valah and then in Transylvania there will be only one nation: the Magyar one, my nation, my blood. I'11 make the future Horia and Cloşca inoffensive. There will be no pitty.» (Apud Milton Lehrer, *op. cit.*, p. 218).

The coming to power of the Hitlerite dictatorship in Germany, in January 1933, was a major step in increasing the revisionist activity of the Fascist-Horthyst regime against Romania. In June 1933 the Magyar prime-minister Gyula Gombos stated in Kecskement that «Hungary will continue its revisionist way.» He conditioned the development of the economic relations with the neighbouring countries by making up for the injustices done to Hungary, threatening the neighbouring countries.

In order to paralize Romania's actions to support Poland, German-Magyar military plans against Romania and Poland had been drawn up. Thus *the P.l and R.2 Plan* decided the offensive of the Magyar troops of 300,000 people and a German armoured division from West, the penetration in Romania along the frontier between Satu Mare and Oradea, and the German troops' offensive from North-West to the Siret and Prut valleys.

To counteract the Horthyst aggressive actions, the Romanian government proposed the Hungarian government to sign a non-aggression pact between the two countries, but the Horthyst leaders informed that such an act was not convenient and asked to be signed a treaty to protect the Magyar minority which meant an interference in the Romania's domestic affairs. (Viorica Moisuc, Diplomaţia României şi problema apărării suveranităţii, independenţei naţionale în perioada martie 1938 - mai 1940, Ed. Academiei RSR, Bucureşti, 1971, p. 242).

Later, the leading Horthyst circles intensified their war preparations against Romania (the number of the Hungarian divisions on the Romanian Eastern border was 24), to anihilate the intervention of the Romanian state to support Poland or to answer the possible requests of the 3rd Reich. The firm military and diplomatic measures of the Romanian government, besides the diplomatic protest of the British government to Budapest, regarding the rejection of the non-aggression pact proposed by Romania and the Hitlerite Germany's fear that by attacking the Romanian territory the French-British frontiers would have been put into practice, the extinction of the war in the whole Balkan area, endangering its own interests, made the Horthyst circles to fail in their intentions to achieve their expansionist ideas against Romania.

Encouraged by the deteriorating of Romania's international situation, as a result of Poland's collapse, Hungary continued its military and diplomatic preparation for a future annexation of Transylvania, making a close connection, in this respect, with the relations between the Soviet Union and Romania.

For this, several hypotheses were considered and, on the 30th September 1939, the Italian government was notified of the plan regarding the stages of the invasion of Romania. (Magyarország, doc. 419, Csaki's letter to the Hungarian ambassador to Rome, Budapest, the 30th September 1939, p. 547). The plan stipulated that if the Soviets raised the question of Bessarabia, the Hungarian top officials should once again demand Romania to retrocede Transylvania, and if it will oppose it, they should start a military intervention for taking over this province. In case of a severe political crisis in Romania, the Horthyst government was to start a military intervention for occupying Transylvania. Such a military intervention would be seen as Hungary's participation to «restoring peace» to that country.

Being aware that Horthyst Hungary hadn't a military power able to carry out by means of an aggression its territorial claims regarding Romania, and the fact that, for the moment, Germany and Italy were not backing their plans, «the Teleky government was forced to adopt a more moderate attitude towards Romania». (A Magyar nacionalizmus kialakulása és lorténéte, Budapest, Kossuth K., p. 396-425).

As a whole, Horthy's fascist regime based its entire foreign policy, during all this period, on territorial revisionism, especially towards Romania, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, contemplating an alliance with fascist and war monger elements, elements that were preparing a new world slaughter, with a view of revising the peace treaties and changing the territorial «statu-quo» established after the First World War.

The Horthyst diplomatic propaganda and secret serviced helped by those belonging to fascist Italy, Nazi Germany and revisionist Bulgaria wanted to counteract and annihilate the foreign actions carried on by the group of anti-revisionist states led by France and England, as well as the Romanian foreign policy and the efforts of the League of Nations to hinder the revising of peace treaties and to accomplish a collective security in Europe. At the same time, Horthyst diplomacy acted for dissolving the Little Entente and the Balkan Entente, alliances set up by Romania, together with Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, Turkey and Greece against the policy led by the revisionist states.

Hungary launched a strong diplomatic and political offensive against Romania, militating for setting up an Italian, German and Hungarian political and military group, as well as a Hungarian, Jugoslavian and Bulgarian one, meant to internationally isolate Romania and to dissolve it as a state, and also at ensuring Hungary a leading role in this part of Europe.

The British, French and American governments rejected such actions, as well as the actions taken by Horthyst Hungary for changing the post-war European «statu-quo».

Thus, Hungary's international ultimate aims was to isolate Romania politically and diplomatically, to revise the peace treaties and to satisfy its territorial claims in the detriment of its neighbouring countries and if these efforts failed, to start, helped by Germany and Italy, an armed aggression against Romania, Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia.

As fascist aggression was seizing more and more peoples, along with increasing its economic pressure upon Romania, Hitlerite Germany will more and more aggressively intervene in favour of satisfying Horthyst Hungary's territorial claims. It will therefore, demand the gradual solving of the existing territorial disputes with Hungary according to the political, strategical and military interests of the Third Reich.

9. *The National Minorities in Reunited Romania, in 1918, having Equal Rights with the Romanians*

The accomplishing in 1918 of the reunification of all the Romanians, the realization of their century-long struggle for independence and national unity was the direct consequence of the objective process of development of the Romanian people, of its will and its resolute struggle.

The restoration of the Romanian territorial unity also represented the fulfillment of the dream for which the great Romanian political and military leaders as well as the Romanian scholars wrote and fought for centuries, for the realization of the legitimate historical rights of the Romanian people. The Paris Conference, as well as the post-war peace treaties ratified an unquestionable historical reality, as a direct result of the will, freely and openly expressed in Bessarabia in the Country's Council (Sfatul Țării) (27 March 1918), in the Congress of the Representatives of the Population from Bucovina (15/28 November 1918) and in the Grand National Assembly from Alba Iulia (1 December 1918).

The concluding, in 1918, of the process of creation of the Romanian unitary national state, which corresponded to the historical necessity of the development of the Romanian nation, created favourable conditions for making use, on a national scale, of the resources of production, thus contributing to the strengthening and widening of the home markets, of the independence of the Romanian state.

Being confronted with complex domestic and foreign affairs, Romania led, all through the period between the two world wars, a policy with a marked bourgeois-democratic character, thus the governments in power in that period legislated the election reform and the land reform, promulgating a new constitution which had a strong democratic rights and liberties to all the citizens of the country.

Beginning with 1918, the Romanian state's population numbered, alongside the Romanians, other nationalities such as Germans, Szecklers, Serbians, Magyars, Swabians, Saxons of Transylvania, without changing in any way its unitary character. In fact, as Nicolae Iorga showed «there is no national state without at least one single citizen who speaks a different language» (The Political Parties' Doctrines, Editura Cultura Naßional;a , Bucureçti, p. 45-46). The minority populations which had settled on Romanian soil have found here a favourable atmosphere and good conditions for their unhindered development, being able to preserve its spiritual individuality, situation different to that which the population belonging to other nationalities had in Hungary till 1918. This fact strongly pointed out to the tolerant spirit of the Romanians, to their humanism and generosity towards the people with which fate had made them live together. The statistic data regarding Romania's demographic evolution in the inter-war period, reveals the immage of the unitary people. According to the population census in 1930, Romania's ethnical structure was the following: Romanians - 73.0 per cent; Magyars and Szecklers - 7.1 per cent; Jews - 4.01 per cent ; Germans - 4.0 per cent; Ucrainians - 3.2 per cent; Bulgarians - 2.0 per cent; Gagautzi -3.4 per cent; Turks, Tartars - 1.0 per cent; Polish - 0.3 per cent; Serbian - Croatians - 0.3 per cent; Greeks - 0.1 per cent; a.s.o. (The Romanian Encyclopaedia, 1938, I, p. 148-151).

The above mentioned figures show that the national minorities represented 27 per cent of the total population of this country. Most of this population had settled on the Romanian land which had been under foreign rule.

On the 1 January 1939, Romania's 19,850,000 population, was structured in this way: Romanians - 14,850,000 (78.8 per cent); Hungarians - 882,000 (4.4 per cent); Jews - 750,000 (3.8 per cent); Germans - 740,000 (3.7 per cent); Ruthenians, Ucrainians - 600,000 (3.0 per cent); Szecklers - 565,000 (2.8 per cent); Russians - 400,000 (2.0 per cent); Bulgarians - 370,000 (1.9 per cent); Turks, Tartars - 120,000 (0.6 per cent); others - 573,000 (3.0 per cent). The existing populations belonging to ethnical minorities were not an isolated phenomenon, characteristic for Romania. It is well known that, at the end of the First World War, there existed, in all countries, people belonging to different ethnic groups alongside the native population. Thus, in 1930, such a population represented in Hungary 7.9 per cent of the total population, in Jugoslavia it represented 20.2 per cent and in Czechoslovakia it represented 33.7 per cent. In the same period, in Poland, of a total population of 21,993,000 inhabitants, 9,047,000 were national minorities. The existing of these populations did not affect the unitary character of the above mentioned countries, character which has never been questioned.

The Constitution adopted in 1923 which sanctioned Romania's historic achievements and democratic reforms granted after 1918, also laid down rights and liberties granted to the ethnical minorities in accordance with the post-war peace treaties. Thus, in paragraph 5, title II of the Constitution it is stipulated: «No differentation regarding birth or social classes is allowed. All Romanians, regardless of ethnical origin, language or religion are equal before the law and shall equally contribute to taxes and public obligations.» (Official Gazette, no 282, 29 March 1923).

Armand Călinescu, former Romanian Prime Minister (March - September 1939) treating in detail on the 12th January 1937 the statute of nationalities and the co-operation with them said «We are, of course, a national state... Within our borders there have also lived, for a long time, citizens having a different ethnical origin. This phenomenon can be found in most countries. We and these citizens have mutual interests, interests arising from living together in the same state, from our mutual ideal of civilization and well-being. We had and we have a very clear policy towards them. In the first place we assert that nowhere have ethnical minorities had a better treatment than in Romania.» (The Romanian, January 13, 1939).

The Germans, the Serbs, the Jews, the Magyars and the population belonging to other ethnical groups have participated in Romania's economic, political, social and cultural life, manifesting themselves as an integrant part of the Romanian society. They benefitted according to and in proportion with the percentage they represented in Romania's population as a whole, according to the stipulation of the law at the time. The following figures are representative in this respect. Thus, after the land legislation was put into operation between 1917-1921, of the total of 1,393,353 peasants to which land was appropriated, 260,165 belonged to ethnical minorities. Of these, 82,640 were living in Transylvania, 94,48 were living in Bessarabia and 29,145 in Bucovina («Universul», September 26, 1940).

Regarding the participation of the capital possessed by ethnical minorities to various societies, on the eve of the outbreak of the Second World War, the statistics reveals its predominant positions in such industries as: metallurgy, electric, wood, working chemical, leather, textile, glass, ceramics, food, paper, graphic art. A similar situation is to be found in finances: of a total of 555 banks and 178 main bankers, 183 belonged to the Jews, 123 to the Germans, 78 to the Hungarians, 25 to other nationalities, that is 409 all in all.

Romanias' nationalities could highly participate in politics. In the pre-war period, they formed political groups and parties, such as The Magyar Party, The Jewish Party, the Ruthenian Party a.s.o., which, independently or together with other parties, participated in parliamentary elections, getting mandates in the Assembly of Deputies or in the Senate. For example, this is the number of parliamentary mandates won by the Magyar Party in the general elections that took place between 1922-1927, proportionally with the number of votes won: three deputies and twelve senators (in association with the People's Party, the National Party and the German Party) in 1926; fifteen deputies and one senator in 1927 (in association with the German Party, the National Liberal Party, Dr. Lupu's National Peasants' Party); sixteen deputies and six senators in 1928; ten deputies and three senators in 1931; nineteen deputies in 1937. (Matei Dogan, Statistic Analysis of Parliamentary Democracy in Romania, Bucharest, 1946, table no. IV).

To the rights and liberties that ethnical nationalities enjoyed in Romania were added equal education, cultural, scientific and artistic creation opportunities. In 1918, the Rule for Primary Education stipulates: «The Ministry of Education will set up primary schools in villages with a population of a different language to the Romanian, in which teaching will be done in the language of that particular population, in the same proportion as that regarding villages with a Romanian population. But in such schools, the teaching of the Romanian language will be compulsory and the number of classes to be taught will be according to that stated in the regulations.»

The structure of the Romanian pre-war education had a fundamental principle compulsory education for children aged between 5 to 18, indifferent of nationality. According to this legislation granting equal education conditions to all citizens of Romania, between 1932 and 1933, there were 422 primary state schools and 326 sections totalling 74,611 school-children in which classes were conducted in the language of the respective minorities.

The situation regarding nationality groups is as follows:

Magyar schools:	210 primary state schools - 58,500 pupils 232 sections
German schools:	71 primary state schools - 9,721 pupils 94 sections
Turkish, Bulgarian a.s.o. schools:	141 primary state schools - 6,690 pupils.

The children of the population having different nationalities benefited of education in private schools (secular and confessional), alongside with the education in primary or secondary state schools.

In the inter-war period, the law of the press in Romania gave the possibility of publishing many newspapers with an economic, political, literary, cultural-scientific, confessional a.s.o. character, printed in Hungarian, German, Jiddish, Ucranian, Russian, Serbian, etc.

In 1918 there were published thirty seven Hungarian publications, dating from the time of Austro-Hungarian rule in Transylvania. In five years, the Hungarian publications totalled 330 publications and by 1935 they were 396, of which 45 were daily publications, 150 weekly and 220 magazines. (Romania, June 28, 1938).

The freedom of religion in Romania granted by the Constitution and by the Law for the General Regime of Religion, sanctioned on the 31 May, 1928, was based on the principle that «no one will be hindered to obtain or exercise civilian or political rights, because of one's religion.» Article 22 in the 1923 Constitution stipulates that being Orthodox the religion of the majority of the Romanians Orthodox Church is «the leading Church in the Romanian state, and the Greek-Catholic has a priority over the other churches.» The Romanian state admitted the following religions: the Roman-Catholic (6.8 per cent of the entire population in 1930); the Reformed-Calvinist (3.9 per cent); the Evangelist-Lutheran (2.2 per cent); the Unitarian (0.4 per cent); the Armenian-Georgian (totalling only 50.000 followers); the Mosaic (4.2 per cent) and the Mohammedan (1 per cent). (The Romanian Encyclopaedia, I, p. 442 a.o.).

The democratic rights and freedoms granted by the Romanian state to its citizens facilitated the organic integration of the minorities in Romania's economic and social-political life, the manifestation of the specific character of each ethnical nationality.

On the 20th February, a new-Romanian Constitution was proclaimed. Most of its provisions were taken over from the 1923 Constitution. Fon instance, article 5 stipulated, as it had done in the 1923 Constitution, that «all Romanian citizens, indifferent of their ethnical origin and religion, are equal before the law». (The official Gazette of Romania, part I, no 42, February 20, 1938, and no 178, August 1938, the Regulation for the operation of the General Commisariat for the minorities).

At a time when Hitlerite Germany was dominating Europe and strong pressures were being made, from the outside, on Romania, resulting in the snatching of important parts of its territory, in June-August, 1940 - Bessarabia, Northern Bucovina and North-Eastern Transylvania - general Ion Antonescu was brought to power on the 6th September, 1940. He abrogated the Constitution and the old legislation, governing by means of law-decrees.

In spite of Nazi Germany's repeated pressures and interventions, general Ion Antonescu opposed the Hitlerite demands concerning the fact that the Jewish population should be massacred. As it is shown in available statistics, during Antonescu's dictatorship there were killed in Romania by the Nazi Wehrmacht troops about 3,000 Jews, of a number of 750,000 which were registered in 1930, number which sharply decreased as a result of the territorial losses from the summer of 1940. The people in Berlin did never accept the idea that the Jews from Romania didn't share the fate of the Jewish population in Germany or in other «allied» or occupied countries. No means was left out from highest level talks to threatening and blackmail. We must grant it to the Romanians that they never accepted the Führer's repeated demands.» In Romania, the Jews never wore the yellow star, were never imprisoned in ghettos, because there were no ghettos. The Jews were never sent from Romania to be exterminated in the ill-fated camps at Auschwitz, Birkenau, Maidanek a.o.

Oliver Lustig, a well-known Jewish journalist has been recently saying about this: «I was being a Jew in Transylvania which had been occupied by the Horthysts, sent by them to the death camps, and becoming there Häftling no. 112398 declare the following: The peoples were forced to obey the nazi dictatorship. But there was one exception. Romania defended its citizens indifferent of their nationality, Romania was the only country in occupied Europe, from where the Nazis could send no train with people deported to Birkenau-Auschwitz.» «Flacăra», no 24, June 11, 1981, p. 15).

10. *Horthyst Hungary Promoted a Genocide Policy towards the Romanian Population in North-Western Transylvania, Occupied after the Vienna Nazi Fascist Diktat*

After occupying the North Western part of Transylvania following the Nazi-Fascist Vienna Diktat, on the 30th August 1940, the Hungarian Horthyst authorities had a huge and systematic activity to exterminate the Romanians, to deport them, to force them to give up their nationality, using a large variety of means and methods, ranging from savage torturing and maiming to genocide - everything with the open aim in view of doing away with the Romanian population in Transylvania and establishing the domination of the fascist-Horthyst regime over the Romanian territory which had been occupied.

Alongside the racist laws, the Hungarian domination over the North-Western part of Transylvania brought with it the bayonets of the cruel repressive Horthyst rule. Right after occupying the Romanian territory, the order given by the regent Horthy Miklos defined the behaviour of this apparatus: «I shall kill every Romanian who crosses my path... I'll burn down Romanian villages at night. I'll knife the entire population, I'll poison the wells. I'll strangle babies in arms. I shall have no mercy! For no one! Neither for children nor for pregnant women!... Revange! No mercy, cruel revenge! (Dücsó Csaba, Nincs Kegyelem, (Without mercy), Budapest, p. 156).

The Hungarian Horthyst troops, together with fascist and chauvinist paramilitary organizations such as The Guard of the Tattered, The First Line Fighters a.o. committed thousands of assassinations, torturing and plundering on the land which had been stolen from Romania. In a single month (September 1940) and in a single county in North Western Transylvania, Sălaj, Horthyst gangs assassinated about three hundred Romanians - men, women, old people, and children: 159 in the village Ip, 81 in the village Trăznea, 30 in the villages Păuşa and Ciumărna, as well as several pregnant women at the outskirts of the town Ialău.

Within two years of Horthyst rule, 991 Romanians were killed without a trial on the occupied Romanian territory and 6813 Romanians were severely tortured and maimed. There was almost no place in the North-Western part of Transylvania whose inhabitants were not deeply suffering as a result of the fascist-Horthyst policy.

These horrible atrocities were also accompanied by a driving out and a forced expulsion of more than 280,000 Romanians from the occupied territory. And other 20,000 were sent to hard labour in Germany to dig trenches on the Eastern front and other 15,000 to hard labour in Hungary. A great number of Romanians were imprisoned in concentration camps at Losnoc, Puscök-Ladany, Someşeni, Floreşti, where they were constantly exterminated. There were about 2000 Romanians imprisoned in those camps. Alongside the terrorist measures, Horthyst authorities also took economic, social, cultural and religious steps to annihilate the Romanians, indifferent if they were workers, peasants, intellectuals, also taking steps for their forced denationalization: high education was conducted solely in Hungarian and there were only two high schools and ten sctions in which classes were taught in Romanian. In high schools the number of classes where Romanian was taught was severely diminished. Thus at the beginning of the Hungarian occupation there were 1345 primary schools where classes were taught in Romanian, but their number was quickly made disproportionate compared to the number of the existing Romanian population. This situation was worsened a new measure was taken, namely that all Romanian family names shall be spelt according to the Hungarian spelling and Romanian parents were obliged to spell their children's names according to this spelling when they brought them to school. In this way by 1943-1944 school year the number of Romanian schools and sections decreased with more than two hundred.

The Romanian population in North-Western Transylvania was given permission, during the Hungarian rule, to issue only five periodicals in its mother tongue, compared to the twenty-four Hungarian periodicals, although the total number of the Hungarian population was three times smaller. Of the five periodicals, only «Tribuna Ardealului» was the spokesman of the Romanians, the others having a religious character. The Romanian periodicals were carefully watched by the war Censor's Office as was the activity of the Romanian Journalists' Union which was declared illegal and its possessions were confiscated.

The Romanian churches were, in their turn, subject to constant harassement by the Horthyst rule, with the openly declared aim of making them Hungarian. The Greek-Catholic dioceses which had formerly been subordinated to the Romanian Bishopric in Oradea were now put under the jurisdiction of the Hungarian Greek Catholic Bishopric at Hajdudorog and forced to replace Romanian with the Hungarian language in Church.

The Horthyst methods also included anti-Semitism. The Jews were denied cultural, literary and intellectual activities. In the army they could enroll only in work detachments. All their properties, lands and a great number of their town houses were confiscated. Hungarian antisemitism as state policy had deep roots and was especially intensified after Hitler took power in Germany. The mass deportation and extermination of the Jews living in the Romanian lands which were occupied in 1940 cannot be justified, as the Hungarians try to do, by the pressure exerted upon them by the Germans.

The Horthyst administration had prepared minutely and at length its set of measures to be taken against the Jewish population. By 1938 there had been elaborated two laws having a deep antisemitic character, laws which severely affected the situation of the Jews. According to them, they were denied any participation in Hungary's economic and political life and mixt marriages between Jews and Hungarians were totally forbidden. These measures taken by the Horthyst authorities followed an extensive antisemitic propaganda which was constantly intensified, as Budapest was eager to increase its quota of confidence it had with the Reich.

A leading part in preparing and carrying out the plans of the extermination of the Jews were played by the Magyar Party as well as by such fascist organization as The Cross with Arrows and the Tattered Guard.

The Jews which had survvived the plight of Horthyst occupation on North-Western Transylvania remember to this day with agony and justified revolt, count Teleki's call to murder which he uttered in Parliament on the 25th March 1942: «Jews still have a strong position in this country, from the point of view of their number. The Jews who came in a great number in the last decades to live in such counties as Maramureş, Satu Mare, Sălaj, Someş as well as in other parts of Hungary, don't speak Hungarian, as a rule. Such elements must be quickly liquidated from this country. It's useless to say that I myself consider the Jews, their increasing number and their domination of trade and industry as particularly harmful...»

Teleki was giving voice to a very clear conception, the policy of genocide towards the Jewish as well as the Romanian population: their elimination as human beings as well as their economic and political isolation. But of all the measures taken, none could be compared to the mass deportation and extermination of this wretched population which had been prosperous and had enjoyed full freedom of initiative under Romanian rule. Nothing can be clearer and more moving than what figures reveal:

Of 180,000 Jews living before the 30th August 1940 in the North-Western part of Transylvania which was occupied by the Horthysts, there remained only 200 when this land was liberated by the

Romanians.

All North-Western Transylvania was full of scenes resembling the Doomsday. In the gettos at Oradea, Satu Mare, Baia Mare, Sfântu-Gheorghe, Sighet a.s.o., men and women indifferent of their ages, were put to horrible tortures which had ultimately the result desired by the fanatic Hungarian «specialists»: death. They were clubbed over their feet, but especially over their kidneys and genitals a.s.o., their nails were pulled out, their hand and feet were made into pulps, their hairy parts were burnt, they were applied an electric shock to their genitals a.s.o. Everything was «artfully» and sadistically performed. The victims' terrible sufferings excited the Honveds' and their «volunteers» beastly instincts.

The Jews who were sent by force to the borders, by train or on foot, had a sad fate. Those on foot were left in the middle of forests or in the mountains, thinly clothed, to die of cold and hunger, or to be eaten by wild beasts. The others overcrowded in cattle cars were ridden by diseases dying of thirst and hunger. Only a few reached their destination.

During this long plight, the Romanians, at the risk of their own life, came to their help. Armin Guttman, the President of the Jewish Community and the head physician at Sighet, gave credit to the help given by the Romanians to the suffering Jews, writing the following in 1944: «The Jews from Maramureş are well aware that they had always found refuge in Romanian houses, during their persecution. They didn't forget that many were the Romanians who, endangering their own lives, didn't hesitate to take food to these wretched, who were dying of hunger in concentration camps, sometimes walking 30-40 miles to do so (The Israeli Courier, year 34, II series, no 7, 29 October, 1944).

A group was formed in Oradea for helping the Jews to cross the border into Romania following routes known only to Romanians.

The Hungarian terror struck violently all democratic and anti-fascist elements, indifferent of their nationality, even if they were Hungarians, Germans or Szecklers. That is why the opposition to the Horthyst occupation was felt in large social groups and classes of all nationalities.

11. *Outlook upon Romania's Policy towards Ethnical Minorities*

In August 1944, Romania adhered to the anti-Hitlerite coalition and in September 12th, of the same year, concluding the Truce Convention with the United Nations, participating to the fights against the German army for annulling 'de facto' the Vienna Diktat imposed in 1940.

Together with the Allied Powers, Romania had an important contribution to the liberation of Hungary and Czechoslovakia, having an efficient participation in the war against Nazi Germany till its final defeat. The signing in Paris, in February 1947, of the Peace Treaty with the Allied and Associated Powers, sanctioned juridically, the annulment of the Vienna Diktate. In agreement with the new principles stated by the United Nations, the legislation adopted after the war had in view the constant democratization of social life, a democratic solution to the question of nationalities. In dealing with the question of nationalities, it started from the fact that, during history on this land there came to settle down, alongside with the Romanians, pleople belonging to national minorities. This situation has determined the caracter of the question of nationalities in Romania, which is a national, unitary state where there also live a number of co-inhabiting nations. According to the census which took place on the 5th January 1977, the country's population structure was the following:

Total population	Persons	In per cent of the whole
Romanians	19,001,721	88.37
Hungarians and Szecklers	1,705,810	7.912
Germans	348,444	1.616
Gypsies	229,986	1.067
Ucrainians	54,429	0.252
Serbs	34,034	0.158
Russians	20,653	0.096
Jews	25,686	0.119
Bulgarians	10,467	0.049

Bearing in mind the truth that equal rights are reflected in the first place in a higher economic and social development of the entire country, production forces were constantly and rationally placed in all Romanian territory, developing the industry of all the counties in this country. From this point of view, the Transylvanian counties of Covasna, Harghita and Sălaj, where there live together with the Romanians a Szeckler population, had at the time when they were set up by the new administrative territorial organization in 1968, a low industrial level. In these counties the gross industrial output increased in 1976 with 312.4 per cent, 302.9 per cent and 465.8 per cent, respectively, compared to that in 1967. These counties had a higher average rate of growth. 35.8 per cent in Covasna, 30.3 per cent in Harghita and 50.5 in Sălaj, compared to the average rate of growth of the whole country which is 25.4 per cent. The solving of the question of nationalities means ensuring the conditions for the participation of all the citizens of this country to its social and economic life, to the management of its various fields of activity, of the entire society. The national structure of the governing party, of the trade-unions of other mass and public organizations, of their leadership of the state representative and executive bodies is in agreement with the national composition of the country's population. Thus, on the 31st December 1977, of the total number of members of the governing party, 90.18 per cent were Romanians, 7.5 per cent were Magyars and the others belonged to other nationalities. Of the 349 deputies in the Grand National Assembly, (the highest legislative body), 29, that is 8.2 per cent are Magyars; 8, that is 2.21 per cent are Germans and 3, that is 0.9 per cent are of other nationalities. As for the local state bodies - the People's Councils -, of a total number of 61,340 deputies, 5,255 are Magyars, 1,125 are Germans and 646 belong to other nationalities.

The Romanians, Germans, Serbs, Magyars and other nationalities take part in the management of public matters in the General Council of the Working People in socialist state units; the Congress of the Councils for Managing Socialist Agricultural Units of all the Peasants; The Congress of the District People's Council and that of the Presidents of municipal, town and village People's Councils, The Congress of political education and socialist culture, the General Conference of the Control bodies of the working people; the Congress of the Councils of the working people from industry, building and transports. The structure of these bodies is specific to the countries under Soviet influence and thus it shouldn't surprise. What is important are the contents and the principles that govern these bodies and the analysis leads to completely different conclusions to those claimed by the champions of Hungarian international irredentism.

In Romania, the unhindered use of mother tongue in economy, politics and culture is granted. The children belonging to the German, Hungarian and other nationalities, as all children in Romania who have reached education ages, can attend all forms of education, free of charge, and can learn in their own mother tongue. Schools are distributed on the whole territory according to the national composition of the country, and sometimes, surprisingly, in their own country, the Romanians have to demand for their children schools with teaching in their mother tongue, in area where most of the population is Hungarian. Surprising it is that even today, due to the deep roots of a chauvinistic education given in the time of Dücso Csaba, many chauvinistic Magyars try to disturb the national consciousness, to stir enmity, to determine their own people not to speak Romanian, to throw out Romanian teachers and public officers in some parts of the country by using persecutions of a very subtle character. And this when the Romanian state ensures the training of the teachers required by the teaching of the minorities, and also school books in Hungarian, German, Ucrainian, Serbian a.s.o. The financing of these schools is derived from the state budget and is part of the budget of the administrative territorial unit where these schools are located. All children are given free schoolbooks, books in their mother tongue are being printed, children and young people are given scholarships, have access to hostels a.s.o., things which have never been mentioned by the Hungarian anti-Romanian propaganda from abroad.

In the school year 1979-1980, for example, there have been printed 162 Hungarian school-book titles, in 1,491,640 copies which cost 9,922,716 lei. In the same school year preschool, secondary and high education comprised more than 400,000 people. A part of these children belonging to such minorities attend, according to the wish expressed by their parents, schools with Romanian as teaching language. As for the schools in which classes are taught in the languages of these ethnical minorities, they represented, in the same school year, 3,276 of which 2,498 were Magyar, 671 German, 49 Serbian-Croatian, 11 Ucrainian, 37 Slovakian, 10 Czeck, Greek, Bulgarian. Of the total number of 129,133 students attending daily courses, 10,748 belonged to minorities and were either attending courses in their own mother tongue or in Romanian.

The co-inhabiting nations benefit today of numerous publications, television and radio programes, publishing houses, theatres, scientific and cultural institutions. In 1977, there were being printed in Romania 34 periodicals, which number, at a single publication, 3,750,000 copies as well as 473 newspapers, magazines and other periodic publications totalling about 7,594,000 copies at a single issues. Of them, 52 central and local publications totalling 740,000 at one issuing, were printed in the languages of the minorities. At the same time, the radio and television program broadcast more than 6000 hours a year in the languages of the co-inhabiting nations. If their ideology is not like, there is at least a compensation: the Romanian newspapers have the same ideologic ideas of the communist prophets Marx and Lenin.

In Romania, the co-inhabiting nations have a genuine spiritual treasure which is the result of a long literary, folk and artistic creation, which is carried on together with the spiritual values of the Romanian population, with which they have lived together for centuries. Such values are cultivated by a series of cultural and artistic institutions, such as: theatres, houses of culture, popular universities, artistic, professional and amateur ensembles etc. There is a Hungarian State Opera, six Hungarian theatres, two German theatres, a theatre in the Yiddish language, more than 3,700 amateur artistic ensembles belonging to the minorities living in Romania, all having a rich cultural and artistic activities, observing, of course, the spirit and the rules of this epoch were not desired by the Romanians, they were imposed to them after the Second World War by the United Nations' peace conditions.

In spite of facts the enemies of Romania from abroad mention Hungary's «historical right» upon Transylvania, exciting the Hungarian's national sensitiveness and suggesting revenge as the only way of solving this matter. Their attempts to legitimate their claims on Transylvania are connected to the activity carried on by Hungarian fascist groups which formulate threats and make plans for a chauvinistic revenge upon the Romanians. Their conceptions are totally alike to the Hungarian official ones between 1940-1944 when the fascist-Horthyst rule upon North-Western Transylvania led a policy of genocide against the Romanians.

These «Apostles of Liberty» do not say a word about the history of those years of horrible terror against the Romanians or falsify things when they state that in Hungary nationalities enjoyed rights and liberties before the Second World War.

«The International Year for Transylvania» proclaimed recently by the Hungarian emigration was meant to be a huge manifestation with deep effect upon international public opinion. But the only effect of the actions organized on this occasion was the revealing, once more, of the backwarded, reactionary, chauvinistic and revisionist conceptions of those who started them, as well as the lack of any hint of equity and realism. The above-mentioned groups, avoiding the truth of facts, launch sentimentalist appeal and laments concerning the difficult state of the ethnic groups in Romania, and especially of the Magyars, which are, seemingly, devoid of any rights, being on the verge of denationalization. They mentioned a «cultural genocide» at a time when these nationalities have all the instruments to culture in their own hands, and if they do not achieve more and do

not come out of a certain mediocrity, that is due to certain changes in their social and political structure and not to national legislation.

Today, when peoples want more than ever to live in peace, the instigating to revenge of some people always in search of unrest is a must that all peoples should know the real fact of Transylvania's Odyssey.

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